



RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
COLLECTIONS



Vol. XXIV

APRIL, 1931



THE SHIP COREA OF PROVIDENCE, D. JACKSON, COMMANDER
OFF ELSINORE, DENMARK, IN 1839

*From a painting by G. Clausen in the Richard W. Comstock, Jr.,
Memorial Collection in the Society's Museum.*

Another picture of the *Corea*, in which the ship's name is spelled Korea, was
printed in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* XVI, op. p. 37.

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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HISTORICAL



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ISLAND
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VOL. XXIV

April, 1931

No. 2

ADDISON P. MUNROE, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

President's Annual Address

To the members of the Rhode Island Historical Society:

The President's annual address takes a different form this year from addresses heretofore delivered.

The present Executive believes that his annual message, instead of being an historical address, should take the form of an annual report of the work and activities of the Society, to the end that the members may be made more familiar with the work that the officers and the members of the Executive Committee are endeavoring to accomplish. In other words, a report of the President to the stockholders of the corporation — the members of the Society being so regarded.

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION

First, a few words as to the Society itself. The Rhode Island Historical Society was chartered at the June session of the General Assembly, 1822, and is now entering upon

the 109th year of its existence. The Society was chartered, to quote from the Act of Incorporation, "For the purpose of procuring and preserving whatever relates to the topography, antiquities, and natural, civil and ecclesiastical history of the State."

Since its organization it has had fifteen presidents, as follows: James Fenner, John Howland, Albert Gorton Greene, Samuel Greene Arnold, Zachariah Allen, William Gammell, Horatio Rogers, John Henry Stiness, George Taylor Paine, Albert Harkness, Wilfred Harold Munro, Howard W. Preston, G. Alder Blumer, Claude R. Branch, and the present incumbent.

The State of Rhode Island is exceedingly wealthy in historic material and the Rhode Island Historical Society itself may well be considered as being an important part thereof.

While enjoying a long life of constructive usefulness, naturally, in accordance with its purpose, dealing with the lives and deeds of those who have gone before, nevertheless it is in no sense a dead organization, but, on the contrary, is a live twentieth century society catering to the needs of the present life and present conditions.

FINANCIAL CONDITION

While there has never been a time in the long life of the Society when it could not have used more funds advantageously, nevertheless our financial condition at the present time, as far as operating expenses are concerned, is very satisfactory, as has been shown by the report of the Treasurer. The income from the invested funds and from the annual membership dues, is carefully budgeted each year and the budget strictly adhered to. The large increase in membership during the past year has materially increased the annual income. The Society has also been fortunate the past year in having been bequeathed the sum of \$4,000 by the late Miss Emily J. Anthony,

although the bequest has not yet been paid in to the Society's treasury.

GIFTS

Numerous gifts have been received during the past year, among them being the valuable collection of Providence stamps presented by Mr. A. B. Slater, and two oil paintings by Mr. Henry D. Sharpe.

MEMBERSHIP

It is extremely gratifying to state that our membership shows a greater increase during 1930 than in any previous year, as shown by the report of the Membership Committee, and that the total membership as of December 31, 1930, is the largest ever reported at an annual meeting, as shown by the report of the Secretary. The Membership Committee has functioned admirably, and I am sure I am expressing the sentiments of the Society when I extend its members our sincere thanks for their efficient work. I trust the growth in membership will continue during the coming year.

LIBRARY

The report of our efficient Librarian and of the Library Committee shows that department of our organization to be in excellent condition. A recognized authority on library conditions recently stated in a published article that "The library of the Rhode Island Historical Society is the most complete for its subject of all the State Historical libraries in America. That is, it has more nearly all the books, pamphlets, and other historical material relating to its State than has any similar institution."

Our genealogical library is not growing as rapidly as it should, and a special fund for the purchase of genealogical books would solve this problem.

LECTURES

We have been very fortunate in securing able speakers for our 1930 courses of lectures, all of which have been most interesting and well attended. All of our lecturers have volunteered their services and the members of our Society have indeed been fortunate to have had the privilege of enjoying these instructive talks. The matter of lectures has been more fully covered in the report of the Lecture Committee.

PUBLICATIONS

The matter of our publications has been reported on by the Publication Committee, and does not require any further extended comment, except to say that they have been kept up to the high standard of previous years, and that they are in keeping with the dignity of the Society. The quarterly "Collections" in particular have been of outstanding merit.

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

Thanks to the efficient Committee on Grounds and Buildings our property is in excellent condition and has required but little outlay for upkeep and repairs.

NECROLOGY

The report of the Necrology Committee shows that we have lost a number of our valued members during the past year, some of whom have been members of many years standing. Included in this list is the first Vice-President of the Society, Hon. Charles Dean Kimball, a faithful and efficient officer, whose passing is a great loss to the Society. A committee representing the Society was appointed to attend the funeral and at the Executive Committee meeting following, appropriate resolutions were adopted and a copy of the same forwarded to his family.

FINANCE AND AUDIT COMMITTEES

The efficient work of these important committees is covered by the report of the Treasurer.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

The Committee on Marking Historic Sites has not been particularly active during the past year, owing, in part, to the illness and death of Chairman Kimball. Recommendation is made that a meeting of this important committee be held in the near future at which a Chairman should be elected. The State of Rhode Island, that assists the work of this committee by an appropriation, as well as this Society and the community at large, looks to this committee for the appropriate marking of the many important historic sites within the boundaries of the State, and more activity should prevail. It is not sufficient to discuss things that ought to be done; the business motto "Do it now" should be followed.

Following the instructions of the Society, your President appointed, last spring, a Committee on the Celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the Founding of Providence, which has taken the name of the Providence Tercentenary Committee. The work accomplished to date by the Committee has been very satisfactory, and has been covered by the report of the Recording Secretary, Mr. John W. Haley.

Believing that an organization functions better when individuals composing that organization are in closer touch with each other, your President, immediately after the last annual meeting, appointed a Hospitality Committee to serve during the year 1930. This action was in accord with the trend of live modern organizations, and has resulted satisfactorily. At the close of each lecture this Committee serves light refreshments, and gives opportunity to the members for closer social contact and to meet the speaker.

Formerly, after the close of a lecture, the building would be vacated inside of five minutes, where now the members spend an hour in social intercourse to the mutual benefit of all concerned. Much credit is due to the Hospitality Committee of 1930, for its efficient work. This plan will be continued during the coming year.

OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION

Your President has had the honor of representing the Society at several official functions, and at meetings and dinners of other organizations. He has accepted all such invitations unless previous engagements have prevented.

THE SOCIETY'S BUILDING

In connection with the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of the City of Providence, a book was published entitled "The Providence Plantations for 250 Years," by Welcome Arnold Greene.

Writing of the Rhode Island Historical Society and its building, Mr. Greene said:

"The capacity of the building is insufficient for the proper display of these objects of interest . . . The contents of the building may be described as consisting of: (1) a library of 16,000 bound volumes, 40,000 pamphlets, files of newspapers, and individual manuscripts; (2) a cabinet comprising, not merely curiosities, but articles that illustrate the domestic, social, commercial, and military life of an age unlike our own; (3) portraits of the prominent men in the colonial and early history of Rhode Island, together with other historic pictures."

Notwithstanding the fact that additions to the building have been made since the writing of the above, in 1886,

the building is even more crowded now than it was at that time. In fact, it is so crowded that many of the priceless possessions of the Society cannot even be displayed.

We have at the present time, over 100,000 books and pamphlets, besides over 200,000 manuscripts, while newspaper files have increased by the accumulation of 50 years.

If we are to continue to grow, function properly, and serve the citizens of Providence, it is imperative that we have more room in the very near future.

Much time and thought has already been given to the matter, and at the present time, it seems as though one of two solutions will eventually have to be adopted.

1. Acquire an entirely new site and erect a modern building thereon, selling the present land and building, and using the proceeds thereof toward the cost of the new building.

2. Build an addition on the front of the present building, covering, as far as possible, all of the land; the addition to be of fireproof construction with waterproof basement.

The Executive Committee has considered the matter and has appointed a committee to investigate the possibilities of the first plan. Although the committee so appointed has spent considerable time on the matter, very little progress has been made, and it is doubtful if the proper location can be secured at a cost that would be deemed at all reasonable.

The second plan has also been considered. In order to erect an addition that would be large enough to serve the purposes of the Society, permission would have to be secured from the Zoning Board to build upon more land than is allowed to be covered in a residential district. Inasmuch, however, as our Society is a semi-public institution, and the building is open to the public each day of the week, it is believed that the necessary permission would be granted.

While a number of our members think that an entirely new building, modern in every respect, should be acquired, an equally large number express reluctance to leave the building that has been the home of the Society for so many years, and support the second plan, which would entail but a small cost compared to the cost of the first plan.

The whole matter is receiving the consideration of the officers and members of the Executive Committee, and, I have no doubt, the proper solution will finally be found.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

I want to express my appreciation of the manner in which the officers and committees have functioned during the past year. The attendance at committee meetings has been noteworthy, frequently being 100 per cent.

We are fortunate in having officers and committee members who realize that they are not elected for the honor, but for the purpose of real service to the Society.

Members also have duties, other than paying their annual dues. They owe it to the speakers, to the Lecture Committee, and to the Society, to support the lectures by their attendance, and thus give their moral as well as their financial support.

CONCLUSION

In presenting this brief résumé of the activities of the Society for the past year, your President trusts that the membership has a better idea of what the Society is accomplishing. History need not necessarily be a dry matter, and when presented properly, is not. Our Society, in the second century of its existence, should, and I believe has, reached the age of mature and sound judgment; if it has not, it never will.

Although it is proper for us to look back upon the past work of the Society with pride, nevertheless, it is the

future we are facing, and I am confident that with the continued co-operation and support of our members, we will continue to function as well or better in the future as we have in the past.

ADDISON P. MUNROE,
President.

Providence, Rhode Island,
January 13, 1931.

The Walter Newbury Shipping Book

By BRUCE M. BIGELOW

Documents on seventeenth century American commerce are rare historical nuggets. Only occasionally does the historian find one of these precious records which describes the nature of our early trade — a commerce which led to the Golden Age of Newport, and the industrial era of Providence.

We have known that Narragansett Bay was a part of the seventeenth century commercial world. Indeed, even before Roger Williams had founded the town of Providence, the ubiquitous Dutchman, who tried all ports, had there bartered his knives, trinkets, tools, and firearms for the Indian furs, hides, and produce, and had even established a trading post there for the Dutch West Indian Company.¹

¹Broadhead, *History of New York*, I, VIII, 268. Cited by Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I, 155. There is an island in Narragansett Bay still called Dutch Island.

We have also known that the early colonists who settled Newport and Providence were prompt to continue this intercourse with the Dutchmen of Manhattan. Furthermore, we are aware that besides this coastwise commerce between Newfoundland on the north, and Manhattan on the south, these early Rhode Island merchant adventurers soon looked for a market in the Caribbean. In this early period of the seventeenth century there was some small commerce with Barbados, but exactly how much there was may never be known. Among the meagre evidence is a report to the Board of Trade made by Governor Peleg Sanford in 1680, forty-four years after the founding of the colony.² Sanford wrote that "we have nine towns or divisions within our Colloney." As to the commercial possibilities the answer was, "wee have several good Harbors . . . of very good depth and soundings, navigable for any shippings." He reported further in reference to trade, "the principall matters that are exported amongst us, is Horses and provisions and the goods chiefly imported is a small quantity of Barbadoes goods for supply of our families."

The extreme meagreness of the actual commerce of the period is indicated in this same document when the governor announced, "wee have severall men that deale in buying and sellenge although they cannot properly be called merchants, and for the Planters wee conceive there are about five hundred and about five hundred men besides." Again he stated, "That as for merchants wee have none, but the most of our Colloney live comfortably by improvinge the wilderness . . . that we have no shippinge belonginge to our Colloney but only a few sloopes."

This report of the governor in 1680 is somewhat unsatisfactory, but it does at least indicate the extent of early Rhode Island commerce. It should have restrained the

²Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I, 488-491. From the original in the British State Paper Office, New England Papers. B. T., Vol. III, 121.

popular historians who would have us believe that an active port of Providence existed in the seventeenth century. Too frequently the Sanford report was forgotten. Nevertheless, although this evidence relating to the extent of Rhode Island commerce was extant, there was nothing available for many years to tell us about the nature of this early trade.

Then came the Peleg Sanford Letter Book, found in the Massachusetts Archives, and published by the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1928. This priceless document shows the business practices of Peleg Sanford between 1666 and 1669. To supplement this account, the Society now prints an abstract of the Walter Newbury Shipping Book which was located by the writer in the Newport Historical Society Library. This unusual document indicates the actual export trade of Walter Newbury between 1673 and 1689.

Walter Newbury was born in 1648, and died in 1697.³ He is first heard of in Newport in 1673 when he shipped goods to Barbados. In the following year the Friends' records identified him as a "London merchant, residing in Newport," and show that he purchased a house from William Richardson, mariner and owner of the Ketch *Mayflower*. In 1675 he was listed as a Freeman, in 1684 as a Deputy, and from 1686 to 1696 as an Assistant.⁴ In 1675, he married a former London resident, Ann Collins, and had eight children by the union. Newbury was apparently a very active Quaker. The famous itinerant Friend, William

³Austin, *Geneological Dictionary of Rhode Island*, p. 137. See also Turner, *Geneological Manuscript*, p. 151, in Newport Historical Society. A note on Newbury's death and estate is in *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, III, 440.

⁴*Rhode Island Colonial Record*, III, 186, 220, 312.

Edmundson,⁵ in the journal of his own life described visits to the West Indies, a passage to Rhode Island in a "Yatch that Joseph Bryer, a Friend was master of," and his stay during an illness at the home of Walter Newbury.

The Newbury document is a shipping book of a standard type. For the convenience of merchants English printers sold bills of lading bound together in book form. The bills were printed forms with spaces into which the name of the shipper, the vessel, the master, and the consignee would be written. The cargo, of course, was also included along with the freight rate, and then too the date. The master's signature appeared at the bottom of each bill.⁶

It is interesting that the first bill of lading was not made out in Newbury's name. Hope Borden made the first shipment, and the cargo, consisting of horses and provisions, was consigned to Joseph Borden. The bill was dated November 18, 1673. In this case shipper and consignee were husband and wife. Joseph Borden had moved from Portsmouth to Barbados; his wife Hope remained in Newport with her mother until the Borden's third child was born.⁷ The second bill of lading, dated December 30, 1673, reveals Walter Newbury as the shipper and Joseph Borden as the receiver. The story is clear enough. Joseph Borden had probably carried on a previous correspondence with Barbados. After his departure to the West Indies his wife

⁵*A Journal of the Life Travels, Sufferings and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmundson*, pp. 71-82. (London, 1712.)

⁶The signatures indicate how unimportant spelling was considered by colonists of the seventeenth century. Even the name of the shipper, Newbury, appears as Newberry and Newbery. A very interesting signature in this book is that of Sam Cranston. This is the only actual record that seems to exist which proves that he was the master of a vessel. Many stories of his ventures, however, have survived.

⁷Austin, *Geneological Dictionary*, p. 24.

Shipped in good order, and well conditioned by *Walter Newbury*
 in and upon the Ship called the *St. Mary*
 whereof is Master for this present Voyage *James Thompson*
 and now riding at anchor in the *harbour of Newport* and bound for *Bahamas*
 to *six* four *hats* & *six* half
barrels of onions

being marked and numbered as in the margin, and are to be delivered in the like good order and
 well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of *Bahamas*
 (the danger of the Seas onely excepted) unto *Joseph Drow* merchant
 or to his assignee, he or they paying freight for the said goods *forty five*
shillings per tun:

with prime and average accustomed. In witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship
 hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this tenor and date, the one of which three Bills be-
 ing accomplished, the other two to stand void. - Dated in *Newport* this
20. October. 1836

Contents Unknown of no form: ~~Handwritten~~

continued his shipments until her own departure when Newbury, a recent arrival in Newport, took over the business. The other bills of lading in the old Borden shipping book all belonged to Newbury and cover the period from December 10, 1673 to April 13, 1689.⁸

Newbury employed vessels not very different in type from those used by Peleg Sanford. The majority were sloops and ketches. It is unfortunate that the word "ship" was printed on the form of the bills. Frequently the merchant forgot to cross out this word and write in the actual rig of the vessel. As a rule, however, the descriptive name of the craft was given. Newbury, in 1688, employed a brigantine, and even before this there is no doubt that ships were actually used. In general, however, sloops, ketches, and brigantines were most common. Like Sanford, Newbury doubtless had an interest in several of these vessels, perhaps owning one outright, but that is quite doubtful. As one of the leading merchants in Newport, Newbury perhaps had shares in several vessels of that port. There is evidence that he was concerned in at least forty-seven voyages: nineteen to Barbados, five to Jamaica, two to Nevis, and one to Antiqua. One vessel went to London, eight to New York, and seven to Boston; Shrowsberry, Philadelphia, and Burlington-on-the-Delaware are also each mentioned once. Barbados was naturally the chief objective. It is of considerable interest and some significance that as early as 1678, Newbury tried a shipment to Jamaica, which became the leading market a half century later.

One of the most important characteristics of this period, which is evidenced by methods of both Sanford and Newbury, is that cargoes were consigned to definite individuals.

⁸It is important to remember that the Julian Calendar was not replaced by the Gregorian or New Style until 1752. The Julian year began on the 25th of March. February was the twelfth month and March the first month of the year

Sanford used this practice most regularly. Newbury employed it too, but occasionally took a chance on a consignment to the master, who was charged to dispose of it as best he could. It was this method of shipment which became so popular in the first half of the next century. At first, however, this was too risky. Even a single cargo would usually be consigned to several different men.

The Newbury shipments to the West Indies were of a very miscellaneous nature. In the winter months, beef and pork were the most common. Mackerel in the other seasons was the usual fish export, although it was of less importance than other provisions. There was not a great amount of live stock sent by Newbury to the West Indies. Horses were shipped but only occasionally. Sheep were carried to North Carolina, but there is no mention of such a shipment to the Caribbean. The provisions consisted mainly of apples, cider, peas, bread, wheat, butter, cheese, and onions. Many other goods, however, were found among the cargoes. Tar, staves, shingles, raw wool, candles, and oil were quite common.

In the decade that followed, 1690-1700, the trade of Rhode Island apparently did not differ greatly from that of the preceding years. Antigua may have attracted more vessels; possibly Jamaica was gaining as a market. Barbados was soon to see the sun setting in the west, and her heyday coming to a close. For a quarter of a century more, however, she held on, but the forces of nature were not to be denied.

The story of this early Rhode Island-West Indian trade has a very important place in colonial history. The seventeenth century was a period of growth in Rhode Island and the West Indies, as elsewhere in the British colonial world. Preparation for the commercial growth which followed had been made in the decades that preceded the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Walter Newbury, Peleg Sanford, the Cranstons, and the Wantons, along with many

others, had planted and nursed the sapling which was to blossom and bear the prized seed which the merchant magnates of the later eighteenth century were to harvest.

Shipped by Hope Borden on Ship [?] *Johanah and Sarah*, Roger Gollon, [? Goulding] master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, Nov. 18, 1673.

“three horses, one to paye freight, the one halfe to witt the bay horse; the other two to pay one hundred and fifty pounds of suger more than halfe the produce of the horse afoursd. Chaghe [charge] hay and provindor [illegible] three horses as afoursd; one barll aples & five hundred of Ceder chings [shingles]”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ship [?] called the *Robuck*, John Bradford, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, Dec. 30, 1673.

“six barlls of sidor & four barlls of porke.”

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden and Richard Sanders. Dec. 30, 1673.

“seven firkins butter, seven bars of Iron, . . . forty four boxes of pills . . .”

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, on account and risque of George Coall and unto Oliver Hodin, Dec. 30, 1673.

“ten barlls of Sidr Eight barlls of pork, six firkins of butter”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ship *Newport*, Henry Beer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Walter Newbury, Jan. 5, 1673/4.

“three hhds fish, two hhds bread, six f— mackrell, 3 barlls beef, 2 Barlls porke, one barll Cranbers [cranberries], one barll pickled Cd. [cod?]”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship [? Ketch] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Thomas and Ralph Frothwell, Dec. 30, 1673.

“4 barlls porke one barll Muton, one firkin hogs fatt . . .”

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Flyer*, Roger Mash [Marsh], master, Barbados to Jamaica, unto Edmond Stevenson in Jamaica, Feb. 21, 1673/4.

“four barlls of Candole [candles?]”

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, on account and risque of Joseph Grove and unto Oliver Hooton, Jan. 22, 1675/6.

“2 Barells of Beefe & one barell of mutton”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, for account and risque of Timothy Mashall [Marshall] deceased, and unto his late wife Abigall Mashall, Jan. 22, 1675/6.

“1 Barell of Beefe & one Barell of Mutton & one Barell of Hodgs fatt”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, for account and risque of Joseph Walker and unto the same, Jan. 22, 1675/6.

“Three Barells of beefe & one Barrill of Mutton”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Gilbert Gillaspee, Jan. 22, 1675/6.

“One Barrill of Beefe & three Barills of porke”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Emanuell Curtis, Jan. 22, 1675/6.

“One Barrill of beefe.”

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph

Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, Jan. 23, 1675/6.

"Three Barrills porke, Three Barrills of beefe".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Hester Forster, Jan. 22, 1675/6.

"One Barrill of Beefe, One Barrill of Mutton, One firkin of Hoggs fatt".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ship *Orijane* [?], Henry Triggino, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, Dec. 8, 1676.

"Six barills & one hhd." [No merchandise named].

Shipped by Walter Newbury on *Sarah*, John Hodge, master, Newport to New York unto John Robinson, Dec. 12, 1676.

"Eight Pipes Fieall [Fayal] wine & two pipes of Green Canary".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on [No name given], John Mash [Marsh], master, Newport to New York, for account of William Richardson and Fred Phillips, Jan. 12, 1676/7. [Name of Christopher Almy signed in master's place]

"fourteen hhds & 4 quarter Caske of brandy".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on [No name given] Christopher Almy, master, Newport to New York, unto Fredrick Phillips. Jan. 24, 1676/7.

"Fower [four] Butts and Fower Spanish pipes".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on [No name given] Christopher Almy, master, Newport to New York, unto Robert Learoke, Jan. 24, 1676/7.

"one Butt [wine?]".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph

Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Thomas Frothwell, Feb. 7, 1676/7.

"2 Firkins of hoggs fatt".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Walker, Feb. 7, 1676/7.

"Six barlls of beefe & four barlls of porke".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, Feb. 7, 1676/7.

"one barll of porke & one barll of beefe".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Hester Forster, Feb. 7, 1676/7.

"one barll of porke & one barll of beefe".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Grove, Feb. 7, 1676/7.

"two barlls of beefe & one barll of Porke".

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Newport*, Henry Beer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Walker, July 16, 1677.

"two barlls of oyl & two firkins of butter".

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Newport*, Henry Beer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, July 16, 1677.

"two barlls of tarr".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on [illegible], Chas. Borden, master, Newport to New York, unto John Robinson, Aug. 2, 1677.

"Five baggs of woll Cont [containing] Six hundred & seventy pounds of woll."

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Walker, Sept. 2, 1677.

“one hhd of Bread”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Abigall Cley-pool, Sept. 2, 1677.

“one hhd of bread & pees”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Hester Forster for account of Joseph Borden, Sept. 2, 1677.

“one hhd of bread”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Unity*, Joon Jooson [?] Newport to New York, Sept. 20, 1677.

“Eight pipes of brandy wine wanting of being full 45½ Inches in ye wholld”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Sloop *Hunter*, John Johnson, master, Newport to New York, unto [illegible], Feb. 28, 1677.

“Eight barlls of Sider, one barell of muscovado Suger, one hundred of sheeps woll, & twenty fove jills wampum”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Barque *Newport*, Benjamin Speare, master, Newport to Jamaica, unto Mathew Mahew, Sept. 16, 1678.

“twenty one barrell of fish & three quarters”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Barque *Newport*, Benjamin Speare, master, Newport to Jamaica, on account and risque of Robert Story of New York, and unto Walter Newbury, Sept. 16, 1678.

“Thyrtytty barells of flower”

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Barque *Newport*, Benjamin Speare, master, Newport to Jamaica, on account and

risque of Jacob Leroy, and unto Walter Newbury, Sept. 16, 1678.

“three hhd's bread & pees three barlls oyle, one barll porke, ten barlls & Six half barlls flower, one Chest of Candles”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Barque *Newport*, Benjamin Speare, master, Newport to Jamaica, unto Walter Newbury, Sept. 16, 1678.

“thirty three Barel's of Pork, thirteen Barel's of oyl, twelve Barrels of Mackrel, thirty half Barrels of Tar, fourteen Barrels & four half Barrels of Flower, Six Barrels of Pease, one Barel of Beef, one Barrel & four Sacks of Onions, sixteen Firkins of Butter, ten Boxes of Candles, three Barrels of Rush, five Hogsheads of Bread & Pease three Hogsheads of Pease, fifty six Bushels of Pease loose in ye Bread-room & in the Hould Eleven hundred of Staves”.

Shipped by Ann Newbury, on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Timothy Marshall, July 11, 1679.

“Fower [four] Firkin's of Buter”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Samuell Carpenter, Jan. 9, 1679/80.

“twelve Barel's of Pork for ye Proper acctt & Risque of Jno Lambert & Compy & foure Barlls Pork & three firkins of butr on ye acct. & Risque of thomas hog & foure Barlls Pork & three firkins of Buttr on ye acct. & Risque of Thomas Worden”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Grove, Jan. 9, 1679/80.

“three Barel's of Pork & two firkins of butter for . . . Joseph Grove & one Barll Pork & one firkin of buttr for . . . Hester Forster”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*,

Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Borden, Jan. 9, 1679/80.

“. . . two Barlls Porke for . . . Hallalujah Fisher & two Barlls Pork for . . . Sollamen Ettles”.

Shipped by Order of John Forster on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados or Nevis, unto Abraham Baruch Henig, July 30, 1680.

“Six Baggs of woole”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on [?] *Lyon* Nathaniel Osgood, master, Newport to Jamaica, unto George Coall and for account and risque of estate of Richard Hunter, deceased.

“seventeen barlls of porke & two firkins of hogs fatt”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ship [no name given] William Hedge, master, Newport to Boston, unto Nathaniel Linds.

“foure hogsheads of Sugar.”

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Adventure*, Stephen Cross, master, Newport to Boston, unto Edward Shippen, Sept. 6, 1681.

“five packs of Beaver”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Thomas Rodman, Jan. 20, 1681/2.

“fower barrells of Porke, Six firkins of Soap, ten barrells tar, three barrells Syder, two Chest of Candles”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Dolphin*, Chas. Brookes, master, Newport to New York, for account and risque of George Coale at Port Royal, Jamaica, and unto William Frumpton, Jan. 15, 1682/3.

“thirteen firkins of Buttur”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Merchant Adven-*

ture, John Bab, master, Newport to Carolina, unto Joseph Morton, Jan. 27, 1682/3.

“twenty Six horse hind & fifty five sheep with their Provision Customary”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship [?] *Portsmouth*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport to Jamaica, for account and risque of Walter Newbury, and unto Benjamin Newbury. Nov. 1684.

“fifty Barlls Mackrell, fifty one whole & forty halfe Barlls Porke, Eight whole & forty halfe Barls Beefe, twenty Barls Syder, nine Barls beer, two hgds & nine Barls Oynions, twelve hgds Bisket, five whole & 30 halfe Barlls flower, one hundred Barlls Tar, Sixty one firkins Buttr, two Barlls Oyle, fourteen Hogds fish, nine firkins of hogs fatt, ten Boxes of Candles, 1540 Staves, Eight Caske of Apples, fifty Cheeses”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Ketch *Mary*, Hugh Power, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Oliver Hooton, Nov. 29, 1684.

“Eight whole & five halfe barlls of porke, ten barlls of tarr, one halfe Barll of beef, one halfe barll of Aples, one halfe barll of bread & wheat, one horse, three sheepe, a small bag containing 110 peces of 8/8, 3 Cheeses, one firkin of buter, 3 barlls Syder”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Sloop *Betty*, Daniel Gould, master, Newport to Antigua, on account and risque of Robert Elton, and unto Edward Perry and Robert Elton, Dec. 10, 1684.

“twenty Cask Containg one tonn of tarr on account and risque of Walter Newbury, one barll Apells, one barll of beer, one half barll of porke & one firkin of butter on account and risque of Robert Elton”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Sloop *Betty*, Daniel

Gould, master, Newport to Antigua, unto Thomas Turner, planter, Nov. 10, 1684.

“five barlls of porke, two firkins of butter & one barll of Syder.”

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Nevis Merchant*, Timothy Clarke, master, Newport to Nevis, on account and risque of Nathaniel Johnson and unto Timothy Clarke, March 24, 1684.

“one larg bay mare & two horses”.

Shipped by Benjamin Newbury on Ship *Amity*, Richard Diamond, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Oliver Hooten, July 11, 1685.

“tenn firkins of Butter”.

Shipped by Benjamin Newbury on Ship *Amity*, Richard Diamond, master, Newport to Barbados, unto “Widdow Ann Gallop”, July 11, 1685.

“One Large gray Gelding markt on ye Buttock & three water Cask”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Sloop [illegible], Daniel Stanton, master, Newport to Philadelphia, for account and risque of Zacharia Whitpaine, April 3, 1686.

“Seven hhds & two halfe hhds of [illegible],

Eight barrls pork, Six Barlls beef, three firkins of butter, one hundred and Sixty bushels of Indian Corn.”

Shipped by Walter Newbury on the *Bristol Merchant*, Samuel Woodberry, master, Newport to London, unto William Phillips, May 5, 1686.

“23 hhds of skines and one barll of plain sugar”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on the *Bristol Merchant*, Samuel Woodberry, master, Newport to London, unto George Watts, May 5, 1686.

“Sixty three pounds three shillings Starling money of England and ninty peces of Eight Spanish money”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on the *Bristol Merchant*, Samuel Woodberry, master, Newport to London, unto Edward Hastwell or Nathani Wilmor, May 5, 1686.

“five severall bills of Exchaing Containing three hundred & fortty pounds Starlling money of England”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Portsmouth*, Henry Beer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Grove June 22, 1686.

“nine barlls of oyle, 52 Cask of tar, Six Cask of flower, thirteen firkins and two halfe firkins of butter, twelve thousand four hundred Sixty Eight Staves, three thousand seven hundred and fifty Shingles, Six hundred & halfe of hoops and two horses with water Casks”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop [no name given] Jonathan Marsh, master, Newport to Burlington on Delaware, unto Thomas Budd, Sept. 6, 1686.

“Six hhds of Rum” [also some wool—quantity written illegibly]

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop [no name given] Peter Tribby, master, Newport to Boston, unto Edward Shippen, Sept. 9, 1686.

“Six tonn & a halfe of brazalette wood & a bundle of bever & deer skins and foure hhds of Sugar”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Sloop [no name given] Peter Tribby, master, Newport to Boston, for account and risque of Edward Perry and unto Elizabeth Perry, Sept. 9, 1686.

“nineteen halfe barlls of flower”

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Dolphin*, William Sikes, master, Newport to Boston, for account and risk of Barthollamew Gidney of Salem, and unto Edward Shippen, Oct. 6, 1686.

“seven bages of sheepes woll”

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on *Ann and Mary*, Sam Cranston, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Grove, Oct. 20, 1686.

“four barlls & Six halfe barlls of onions”

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Unity*, Joseph Worden, master, Newport to Shrowsbery, unto Thomas Eaton, Nov. 3, 1686.

“one hhd Rum, ten Iron kettles, two bages Shott, two hatts, a CandleStick, Seven dozand halfe of fishooks”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Desire*, Daniel Stanton, master, Newport to Boston, unto Edward Shippen, merchant in Boston, Dec. 1, 1686.

“one hundred Cheeses, Six firkins of butter, one bag of pewter, one bag Bese wax, twelve doz fire shovell pans”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on [?] *Portsmouth*, Henry Beer, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Joseph Grove, Dec. 25, 1686.

“ten thousand five hundred of white oake barrll Staves with Heading, twenty barll train oyle, thirty four halfe barrll beefe, three firkins of hogs lard, three halfe barrll Cranbury, fiveteen Cask of tarr, one thousand two hundred Shingles, five horses with fourteen water Cask, a hundred & halfe of Hoops”.

Also “Eight boxes of Candles . . . acct & risque of Joseph Groves”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Providence*, Joseph Bryer, master, Newport for Barbados, unto Joseph Grove, Jan. 14, 1686/7.

[lumber and horses, quantity illegible]

Also “one box of Candels & one hors [horse]”

Also “twenty one thousand four hundred twenty seven futt of bords, nineteen thousand four hundred 24 of staves, nineteen thous of Shingles & 23 Sheepe”.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on [?] *Dolphin*, Richard Foster, master, Newport to Boston, unto John Bisler March 31, 1687.

"twenty foure barlls of porke & a hhd of [illegible], two deer skins Loose"

Also "twenty six barls of porke and four half barls" to Stephen Mason.

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Sloop *Ark* Noil Mew, master, Newport to New York, unto Gabriel Munveal of N. Y., Nov. 8, 1688.

"26 firkins of buttr".

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Sloop *Desire*, Peter Tribly, master, Newport to Boston, unto Anthony Haywood of Boston, Nov. 20, 1688.

"Two pipes of wine".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Brigantine *Elizabeth & Mary*, Daniel Stanton, master, Newport to Jamaica, unto Timothy Weymouth, Dec. 18, 1688.

"Three Barrls of Oyle, Six barll porke, Tenn firkins of Buttr, Three Caske of Cheese, Two Barlls & one halfe Barll of Cranberry".

Also "Two Barll of Oyle, Two firkins of Buttr, one Caske of Cheese . . . acct. & risque of Joseph Nauris in Jamaica".

Shipped by Walter Newbury, on Ship *Newport*, Daniel Gould, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Christianus Gardner and William Wheeler, March 19, 1688.

"four barrll porke, four barrll beefe & four boxes Candles".

Shipped by Walter Newbury on Brigantine *Indeavour*, John Hart, master, Newport to Barbados, unto Christianus Gardner and Wm. Wheeler, April 13, 1689.

"Ten Barrll of Oyle, one Thousand of hhd Staves, five hundred of hhd hoops, one box of Candles & four horses with Oats, hey & water Caske [casks] as Customary."

First Settlers in East Providence

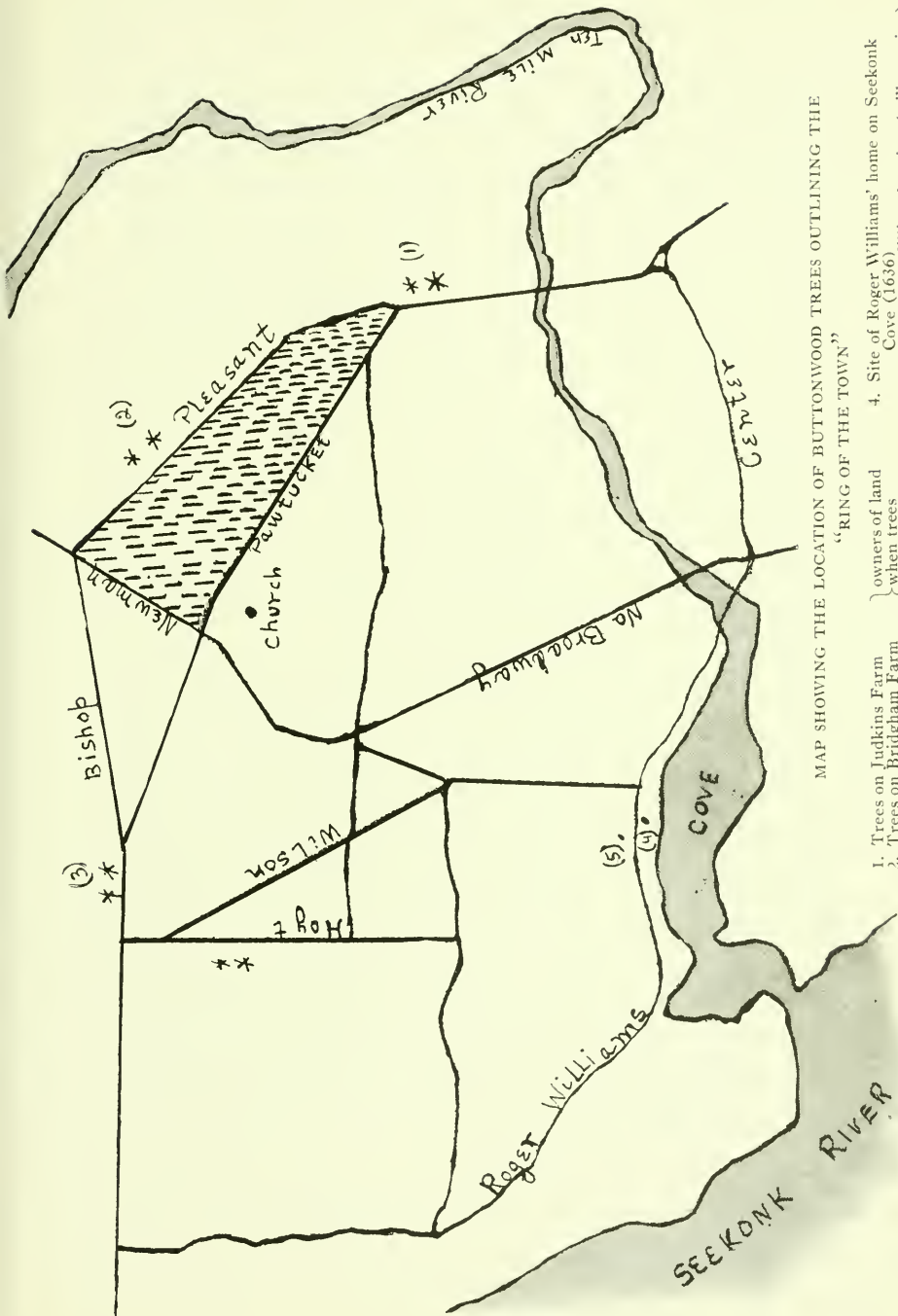
By W. LEROY WOOD

William Blackstone or Blaxton was the first white settler of Rehoboth, coming from Boston. He it was who gave the Boston Common to the settlers of that town. In 1635, he built a home on the upper waters of the Seekonk River, today known as the Blackstone River. The place where the walls of his house were raised, then a part of Rehoboth, about three miles above the city of Pawtucket, is now known as Cumberland, R. I.

Roger Williams was the second white man to come to the region now known as Rhode Island, and the first white man to come to what is today East Providence. He arrived in the spring of 1636. But following the advice of his friend, the Governor of Plymouth, who did not desire to displease the Bay Colony, Roger Williams moved to the westward, across the Seekonk.

Another white man has left his name on the early records, although the information regarding him is meagre. In the Plymouth Colonial Records (Vol. II, page 67) we learn that one, John Hazell was living at "Seacunck" in the year 1642.

The man whom we regard as the real founder of Rehoboth, and particularly of the part to be later known as East Providence, was the Rev. Samuel Newman. It has been said that "the history of the early colonies is the history of the churches." The Rev. Samuel Newman was a pastor in Yorkshire, England, for ten years. Dissatisfied with religious conditions in England, he came to America in 1635. For four years he made his home in Dorchester, Mass. In 1639, he became pastor of the Weymouth Church, staying in that town for four years.



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF BUTTWOOD TREES OUTLINING THE "RING OF THE TOWN"

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Trees on Judkins Farm | } owners of land when trees | 4. Site of Roger Williams' home on Seekonk Cove (1636) |
| 2. Trees on Bridgman Farm | | 5. Site of Roger Williams' spring (still running) |
| 3. Trees on Nelson Bishop Farm | } were standing. | |

In the spring of 1644, he left Weymouth with nearly three score men and their families and came to the westerly bounds of Plymouth Colony. Arriving at the region bordering the Seekonk River they decided to make this their home. The Indians called the region "Seekonk" or "Seacunk." It is believed that the name was the combination of two Indian words, "seaki" meaning black, and "konk," goose—black goose. These geese frequently alighted in the Seekonk River and cove as they passed over the section. The Rev. Mr. Newman called the place "Rehoboth" for he said, "the Lord hath opened a way for us." (Gen. 26:24.) The word means room or broad place.

From the records and accounts of the beginning of the town we learn that the houses of this first colony were built in a semi-circle around Seekonk Common, opening toward the Seekonk River, with the church and the minister's house in the center. This has been referred to frequently as "the Ring of the Town."

Where was the site of this Ring? Beyond the fact that the Ring encircled the common and opened toward the river, we find no record. Seekonk Common lay between the junction of Pleasant Street and Pawtucket Avenue, and the junction of Pawtucket and Newman Avenues.

From a resident of Rumford who has taken a deep interest in the events and conditions in the early colony—Mr. George ¹Carpenter, we learn that at one time a row of buttonwood trees followed the outline of this ring. Today none of these trees are living. Thirty years ago one of these trees was standing. During his youth Mr. Carpenter noted and marked the site of eight of these trees. He was told by some of the older inhabitants of the town that they formed a part of the original line of trees which extended along the Ring of the town.

¹Son of Horatio Carpenter.

The location of the trees that Mr. Carpenter noted are marked upon the accompanying map. By them we can trace the probable outline of the "Ring." We see that the conditions of the record are met, that the Ring was around the Common, opening toward the river, with the church in the center.

The first church building erected by these colonists stood to the south of the present building. It is believed to have stood on the site of the Newman monument in the cemetery. This first building was erected in 1646, and was said to be a very crude structure.

Seventy-one years later it was replaced by another building which was north of the monument, near the site of the tomb, and still on the south side of the road. In 1810, a third building was erected, this time across the road. This building is still standing, the present Newman Church, known to the people of this vicinity and to the patrons of the United Electric Railway as the "White Church."

Its predecessor was taken down and the timbers were used for² the frame and planks for the walls of the Old Town Hall, which is located on Pawtucket Avenue at East Providence Center (Rumford). There is a tradition,² we are told, that this Town Hall was first located where the Union Primary School now stands, but that there is no means of verifying that statement. So far as the records show, this building stood on the present location of the Public Library at the the Center until 1904, when it was moved to its present site, and the Library built upon its earlier location.

In his "History of Rehoboth," Mr. Leonard Bliss gives us the following account of an early town meeting as noted in the town record of that early colony.

"At a general meeting of the town of Seakunk being the 9th of the 10th month (December) 1644, at law-

²*Providence Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 27, 1928.

ful warning given, by reason of many meetings, and other strong causes for the easing of the great trouble, and for the (word illegible) and the deciding of controversies between party and party as well as the proposing of men's levies to be made and paid, and for the well ordering of the town affairs, as may stand with future equity, according to our former combination, the inhabitants of said place have chosen these men here named—

Alexander Winchester	William Smith
Walter Palmer	Robert Martin
Richard Bowen	Henry Smith
Richard Wright	Stephen Payne

“These men were called ‘Townsmen’ and were the predecessors of the officials who today constitute the Town Council. But these Townsmen had greater powers than do the members of the present Town Council. At a subsequent meeting of the Townsmen it was ordered that the recording of any man's land in the Town Book shall be to him and his heirs a sufficient assurance forever.

“In 1645, the people submitted to the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Court and were incorporated under the name of Rehoboth. On the 9th of June, 1645, lots were drawn for land upon the great plain, and the list gives, it is reasonable to suppose, the names of all the original settlers.” This list can be read in the histories of both Bliss and Tilton.

ESTHER WILLETT THIMBLE

On page 126 of Volume XXIII of the *Collections* will be found an article on the Esther Willett thimble in which it is stated that the thimble was found during the excavations in connection with the building of Col. H. Anthony Dyer's house in East Providence. Colonel Dyer informs us that the thimble was found in the garden, not in the ruins of the old house, and paints an attractive word picture of the supposal that Esther lost her thimble one day while sewing in the garden.

NEW PUBLICATIONS OF RHODE ISLAND INTEREST

Robert Feke, Colonial Portrait Painter by Henry Wilder Foote, is an illustrated volume of 223 pages. It will be remembered that one of the earliest studies of Feke was made by Professor William C. Poland and printed in the "Rhode Island Historical Society Proceedings," 1905, p. 73.

The Colony House by Frank H. Swan, is a leaflet of 18 pages, issued by the Akerman-Standard Company.

The Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island has issued a pamphlet of 20 pages: *Samuel Gorton's Letter to Lord Hyde in Behalf of the Narragansett Sachems*, April 4, 1662.

Sachems of the Narragansetts, is an illustrated volume of 117 pages, dealing with the lives of the rulers of our local Indians, which has just been published by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Antiques for December, 1930, contains an illustrated article showing that Malbone's painting called "The Hours" is really based directly on Samuel Shelley's painting with the same title, although as Ruel P. Tolman observes, "Malbone has evidently improved upon Shelley."

Old-Time New England for January, 1931, contains an illustrated article on New England windmills including an account of the old windmills of Rhode Island.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1931, contains an article on the ancestry of Peter Tallman of Portsmouth, R. I.

The Early Quakers and the Old Quaker Meeting House, a paper by W. L. Watson, has been published as "Bulletin Number 5" of the Jamestown Historical Society.

The Calendar of State Papers for 1717-1718, which has recently been issued by the British Government contains several references to Rhode Island affairs, including further data on the controversy over the appointment of the Governor of Massachusetts as Commander-in-Chief of the militia of Rhode Island, the account of the capture of the Rhode Island brigantine *John and Thomas* by pirates, and an estimate of Rhode Island wool exports.

Volume II of *The "Old Stone Bank" History of Rhode Island* is a book of 141 pages by John Williams Haley.

The Times Literary Supplement (London) of Feb. 5, 1931, contains a review of the January issue of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*.

Antiques for January, 1931, contains an article on early Rhode Island pottery by Charles D. Cook.

Notes

The Society recently obtained a copy of a hitherto unknown Rhode Island broadside of 1778. It is a resolution in regard to guns which was passed at the Second May Session of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in 1778.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. William Wood Estes	Mr. Henry T. Samson
Mr. David Davidson	Mr. Daniel L. Willmarth, Jr.
Mr. Robert S. Emerson	Mr. Jarvis M. Morse
Mr. G. Burton Hibbert	Mrs. William A. McAuslan
Mr. George E. Bixby	Dr. Madelaine R. Brown
Mr. Fred H. Barrows	Mr. Henry A. DuVillard
Mr. Edgar W. Martin	Mrs. Robert Ives Gammell
Miss Anna Chapin	Mrs. Harold P. Salisbury
Edgar B. Smith, M.D.	Mrs. George St. J. Sheffield
Miss Mittie Arnold	Mr. Edward J. C. Bullock
Mrs. I. B. Merriman	Mrs. Edward J. C. Bullock
Mr. John B. Archer	Mr. David B. Lovell, Jr.
Mr. W. L. Watson	Mr. W. Granville Meader
Mr. Zenas W. Bliss	Mr. Sidney D. Humphrey
Mr. Ward E. Smith	Mrs. John S. Holbrook
Mrs. Louis C. Gerry	Mrs. George H. Huddy, Jr.
Mr. Eugene A. Claus	Miss Jane Arnold Thomas
Miss Abbie P. Gardner	Mrs. George W. H. Ritchie
Mr. Paul C. De Wolf	Mrs. Wallace Campbell
Miss Louisa A. Sweetland	Mr. G. Frederick Frost

Report of Membership Committee

In accordance with the By-Laws your Committee on Membership submits the following report:

At the beginning of the year it was thought advisable to look over the field with the idea of increasing the membership, the plan adopted was to send each member a printed form, wherein they could name prospective members. The members responded to this request very well. Of course, it was necessary to clear these lists to avoid duplication, as some names were suggested of persons who were already members, while the names of other non-members appeared upon more than one list. By this simple method the admission of 115 new members was acquired. This is the Rhode Island Historical Society, a state-wide organization, and it is the opinion of your Committee that while we naturally draw heavily upon the City of Providence for our membership yet there is undoubtedly quite a number of eligible and desirable members in the other cities and towns who are interested in Rhode Island history and its institutions, and who upon invitation would be pleased to be identified as members. It is with this idea in view that your Committee will give special attention during the coming year to the outlying districts without relinquishment, however, of our vigilance and attention in the capital city.

New members since the last annual meeting 115, of whom 74 reside in Providence, 33 in Rhode Island outside of Providence, and 8 outside of the State of Rhode Island.

There has been 14 lost by death.

No members have been dropped from the roll of membership on account of the non-payment of dues.

The present membership is 566, the largest membership in the history of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY C. DEXTER,
Chairman.

January 13, 1931.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TREASURER'S REPORT
INCOME ACCOUNT FOR YEAR 1930

RECEIPTS

Annual Dues	\$2,638.00
Dividends and Interest	5,530.14
Rental of Rooms	110.00
State Appropriation	1,500.00
Contributions	40.00
	\$9,818.14

EXPENDITURES

Binding	\$326.62
Books	833.37
Electric Light and Gas	46.05
Exhibitions	163.79
Expense	295.09
Grounds and Building	197.41
Heating	700.00
Newspaper Account	21.70
Publications	976.63
Salaries	5,520.00
Supplies	271.17
Telephone	74.40
Water	8.00
	\$9,434.23
Surplus Income Account	383.91
	\$9,818.14

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1930

ASSETS	
Grounds and Building	\$25,000.00
Investments:	
BONDS	
\$4,000. Cedars Rapids Mfg. & Power Co. 5s, 1953	\$3,228.88
3,000. Central Mfg. District	3,000.00
3,000. Cleveland Elec. Illuminating Co. 5s, 1939	2,565.42
1,000. Commonwealth Edison Co. 5s, 1943 ..	965.25
4,000. Dominion of Canada 5s, 1952	4,003.91
1,000. Western Electric Co. 5s, 1944	998.17
4,000. No. 61 Broadway Building, 1st Mtge. 5½s, 1950	4,000.00
4,000. Minnesota Power & Light Co. 1st 5s, 1955	3,930.00
4,000. Monongahela Valley Traction Co. 1st 5s, 1942	3,685.00
2,000 Ohio Power & Light Co. 1st & Ref. 5s, 1952	1,974.00
2,000. Narragansett Electric Co. 1st 5s, 1957	1,980.00
2,000. Shell Union Oil Corporation 5s, 1947	1,979.00
2,000. Koppers Gas & Coke Co. 5s, 1947.....	1,962.50
1,000. Indianapolis Power & Light Co. 1st 5s, 1957	994.50
STOCKS	
54 shs. New York Central Railroad Company	\$3,766.47
125 shs. Pennsylvania Railroad Company.....	7,638.35
30 shs. Lehigh Valley Railroad Company	2,112.50
7 shs. Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company	235.39
40 shs. Milwaukee Elec. Railway & Light Co., Pfd.	3,900.00
64 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,960.05
350 shs. Providence Gas Company	5,755.68
15 shs. Providence National Bank	} 1,800.00
30 shs. Merchants' National Bank Building	
45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank	1,050.00
52 shs. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Rwy. Co., Com.	6,247.85
20 shs. American Power & Light Co., \$5. Pfd.	1,696.50
30 shs. Standard Gas & Electric Co., \$4. Pfd. .	1,906.50
35 shs. Public Service Corp'n. of New Jersey, \$5. Pfd.	3,327.63
	80,663.55
Cash on hand	3,229.75
	\$108,893.30

LIABILITIES

Equipment Fund		\$25,000.00
Permanent Endowment Fund:		
Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000.00	
Henry J. Steere	10,000.00	
James H. Bugbee	6,000.00	
Charles H. Smith	5,000.00	
Charles W. Parsons	4,000.00	
William H. Potter	3,000.00	
Esek A. Jillson	2,000.00	
John Wilson Smith	1,000.00	
William G. Weld	1,000.00	
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000.00	
Charles H. Atwood	1,000.00	
		<hr/>
		46,000.00
Publication Fund:		
Robert P. Brown	\$2,000.00	
Ira B. Peck	1,000.00	
William Gammell	1,000.00	
Albert J. Jones	1,000.00	
William Ely	1,000.00	
Julia Bullock	500.00	
Charles H. Smith	100.00	
		<hr/>
		6,600.00
George L. Shepley Fund		5,000.00
Life Membership		5,550.00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund		734.52
Book Fund		3,012.41
Reserve Fund		1,113.27
Revolving Publication Fund		537.27
Surplus		13,766.62
Surplus Income Account		1,579.21
		<hr/>
		\$108,893.30

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1930

RECEIPTS

From Surplus Income Account	\$1,128.53
\$5,000. New York Edison Company 6½s, 1941, sold	5,687.50
300. United Electric Railways, Prior Lien 4s, 1946, sold	159.00
64 rts. American Telephone & Telegraph Company, sold	1,086.18
Life Membership	200.00
Reserve Fund	69.00
Revolving Publication Fund	343.00
	<hr/>
	\$8,673.21
Balance January 1, 1930.....	2,163.94
	<hr/>
	\$10,837.15

PAYMENTS

50 shs. Providence Gas Company, new stock	\$750.00
14 shs. Pennsylvania R. R. Company, new stock	703.38
4 shs. New York Central R. R. Company, new stock	411.25
20 shs. American Power & Light Company, bought	1,696.50
35 shs. Public Service Corp'n. of New Jersey, \$5. Pfd., bought	3,327.63
30 shs. Standard Gas & Electric Company, \$4. Pfd., bought	1,906.50
Revolving Publication Fund	391.35
	<hr/>
	\$9,186.61
Balance December 30, 1930.....	1,650.54
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	\$10,837.15

Respectfully submitted,

GILBERT A. HARRINGTON,
Treasurer.

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



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PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXIV

JULY, 1931

No. 3



A MEXICAN BANNER CARRIED BY A BATTALION OF 500 MEN FROM THE PROVINCE OF OAXACA. IT WAS TAKEN FROM THE BATTLEFIELD OF CERRO GORDO, APRIL 17, 1847, AND BROUGHT HOME BY GEORGE W. GUILD, AN AMERICAN OFFICER.

In the Society's Museum.

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



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RHODE
HISTORICAL



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ADDISON P. MUNROE, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Some Ancient Roads in the Pettaquamscutt
Purchase

By WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER

“The road turned first towards the left
Where Pinker’s quarry made the cleft;
The path turned next towards the right,
Because the mastiff used to bite,
Then left because of Slippery Height,
And then again towards the right—
We could not take the left because
It would have been against the laws. . .”

G. K. Chesterton.

The eccentric wanderings of the ancient roads of our forefathers often cause us to ponder until we realize the difficulties under which they were laid out and constructed. Chesterton’s verses are apt, as they depict a few of the various obstructions to the ideal straight road; and in our

own wilderness, with swamps, out crops of granite, and rivers, where the "riding over" place must be chosen in lieu of a bridge, there were many natural impediments presented. Also there were the boundaries of farms and house lots to be skirted for to cross "would have been against the laws" invoked by an irate landholder.

It may be, therefore, of interest to learn when some of our early roads were built and why they were laid out with such seeming disregard to the axiom concerning the straight line. The old Narragansett Country was such a typical example that it may well be taken as an illustration for the rest of the Colony.

On January 20, 1657¹, Samuel Wilson, John Porter, John Hull, Samuel Wilbour and Thomas Mumford executed the first deed of purchase with the Sachems of the Narragansett Country for that great tract of land which, as a result of that and subsequent deeds, the last dated 1661, was to contain, in area, about twelve square miles. These five men, together with Benedict Arnold and William Brenton who were admitted at a later date, were known as the Purchasers and the land as the Pettaquamscutt Purchase.

Unfortunately the minutes of the meetings of the Purchasers are most incomplete and the dates of the earliest apportionments of the lands are, therefore, very difficult to present. We know, however, by surviving deeds and records, that by 1663 the Purchasers had commenced to assign and sell lands to outsiders; but it is certain that they had previously allotted various tracts among themselves.

With the sale of lands it became imperative that roads be laid out as the country side had nothing as a means of travel, save the old Indian trails. This difficult work was evidently undertaken about 1660, the date being approximately confirmed by two depositions made in the year

¹Elisha R. Potter, *Early History of Narragansett*, pp. 275-286.

1727; as in the first of these, dated July 8th, the deponent, Benoni Gardner², referring to one of the highways, states that it "is now near Seventy years Since the Laying out of ye Same".

These depositions, one by Benoni Gardner as referred to above and the other by Henry Gardner³ dated three days later, are the main evidence that remains of the earliest roads of the Purchase. A road plat by Helme⁴ confirms the position and direction of the roads to such a degree as to verify the testimony of the Gardners.

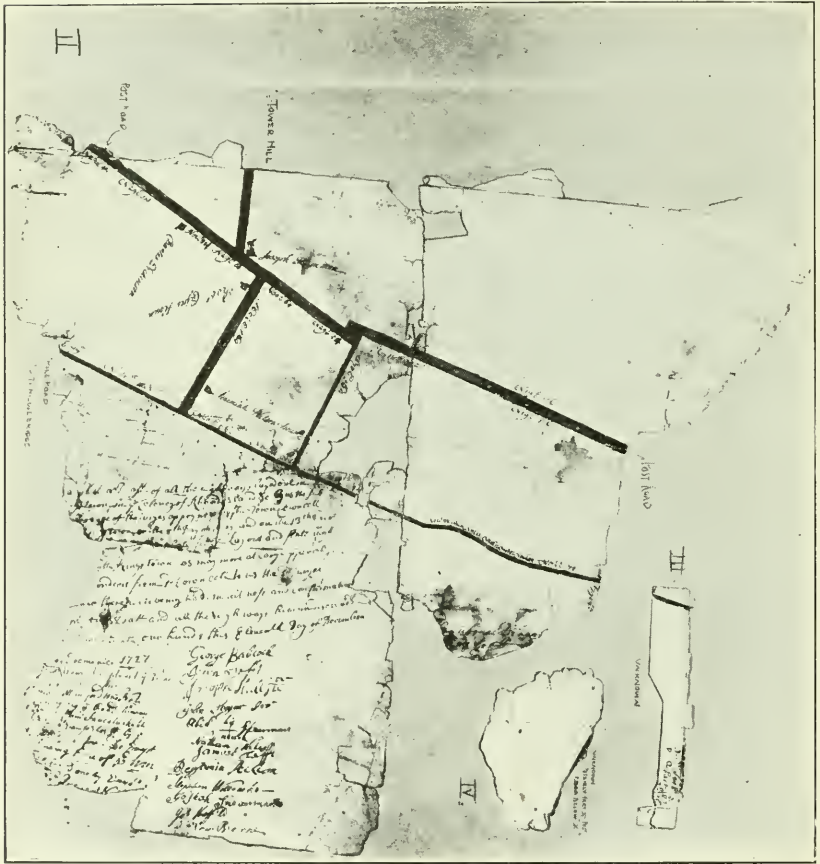
As the first settlement in the Purchase was on the Easterly slope of what is now Tower Hill, at the place then called Pettaquamscutt, the roads laid out for the convenience of the house holders at that place will therefore be considered first. The other roads and highways leading into the "wilderness" to the westward always have their beginning from this "Country Road at the head of the Lotts".

Benoni Gardner says that this road, now known as the Tower Hill Road, commenced "at Esqr Brinton (s) Land and Extended Northward So fare as sd Purchase went". Brinton, or Brenton's land was situated on the Southeast-erly side of the road through the village of Wakefield, from the Saugatucket River to a point just north of where the Tower Hill House now stands. Henry Gardner simply says that the north bound of the road was the Purchase line, but gives no southerly termination. It may have originally commenced at the Brenton land, but it would soon

²*South Kingstown Land Evidence*, vol. 3, pp. 192-193. Benoni was the eldest son of George and Herodias (Hicks) Gardner. He was born about 1635 and died in 1731.

³*South Kingstown Land Evidence*, vol. 3, p. 193. Henry was a brother of Benoni.

⁴Fragments of this plat by James Helme were found among the papers of the late Elisha R. Potter. It is dated 1727 and it would seem probable that the depositions were taken to aid in the drawing and layout of the roads.



THE ROADS AT PETTAQUAMSCUTT

The upper road is that at the "head of the Lotts" now the Post Road. The lower is the road along the river at the foot of the hill. The connecting road to the right is the former way to the Lead Mine. The road leading upward from the Post Road is the highway connecting with the "Broad Road" at the Saugatucket River. Note signatures and dates.

appear to have been extended along by the head of the Purchaser's lands that bordered on the westerly side of the Salt Ponds and ocean, until it reached at least the southerly line of the Purchase. The westerly bounds of these divisions of land mark approximately today, or at least prior to recent changes due to motor traffic, the course of the Post Road as far as the Charlestown line, which line at that point is in fact the original southerly bound of the Purchase. This extension, for some distance, is shown on the Helme fragment.

At the foot of the hill "called Pettequamscutt," or rather at the foot of the lots, another road was laid out on the westerly bank of the Pettaquamscutt, or Narrow River. This road originally extended from south of the Middle Bridge, so called, to Coles Mill which was adjacent to the site of Gilbert Stuart's birthplace. At present it stops short of this, but an abandoned driftway through the woods still shows the original course. Benoni only mentions it, but his brother George says that there "was laid out a highway sixty years ago & upwards from Segg [*Sedge*] Island along by the foot of the Lotts on the Petequamscutt Hill in said town to the grist mill which now belongs to Elisha Cole or a mill that stood thereabouts." The mill that "stood thereabouts" was the mill built by Thomas Mumford in 1686/1687.

From this road there were two connecting with the Country Road at the head of the lots. With reference to the first of these, Benoni states that, "there was one Highway laid out by the Lead Mine from the uper highway at the head of the Lotts down to the highway to the foot of said Lotts". Henry Gardiner states that it was formally laid out "for the convenience of going to sd Lead mine". It was originally laid out with the generous width of 20 rods. However, the lead mine, known by the Indians as Cajoot, does not appear to be as valuable as was expected and "afterwards the said Purchasers gave four Rods in width

on the north part of Sd Twenty Rods [*road*] from the Lower highway to the Country Rhod afore mentioned for the use & benefit of the Town and the remainder part of said twenty rods the Sd Purchasors conveyed to Thomas Mumford . . . in part pay for John Mumford surveying". The road, as well as the mine, fell into disuse and first the portion from the mine to the river road ceased to appear on contemporary plats and later the remainder. It is, however, shown on the Helme plat, where it appears as the northern of the two roads.

The other road down the hill to the river still exists very much the same as when laid out. This was the road over which travel must go from the westward, over the Pettaquamscutt River, across Boston Neck to the ferry to Conanicut and Newport. This road is the southern of the two on the Helme Plat. It is at the southwest corner of this road where the old grave yard still remains. This land was originally given by Samuel Sewall for a church; and here Rev. Dr. Joseph Torrey, minister and doctor, lies buried. South of this road is situated the remains of Jireh Bull's stone house or garrison, destroyed by the Indians in 1675.

The continuation of the above road, which led to the west country, where the extensive farm lands of the settlers at Pettaquamscutt were situated, commenced on the road at the head of the lots just south of the juncture of the so-called country road and the road described in the preceding paragraph. Benoni Gardiner simply refers to it as "an highway Runing out of Sd highway [*at head of the lots*] Wistward up to Sawcatucket River" . . . Henry "also saith that the Said Purchasers Laid out a Country Rhode near the house of William Browns where Joseph Hammons now Lives Leading . . . to Saucotuct River." Helme's plat shows Hammon's house, which was formally Brown's, which places the beginning of the road very definitely. On this road stood the first jail, and nearby, the

first court house in King's Province, later King's County. Also on this road the Rev. Dr. Torrey lived his very useful life.

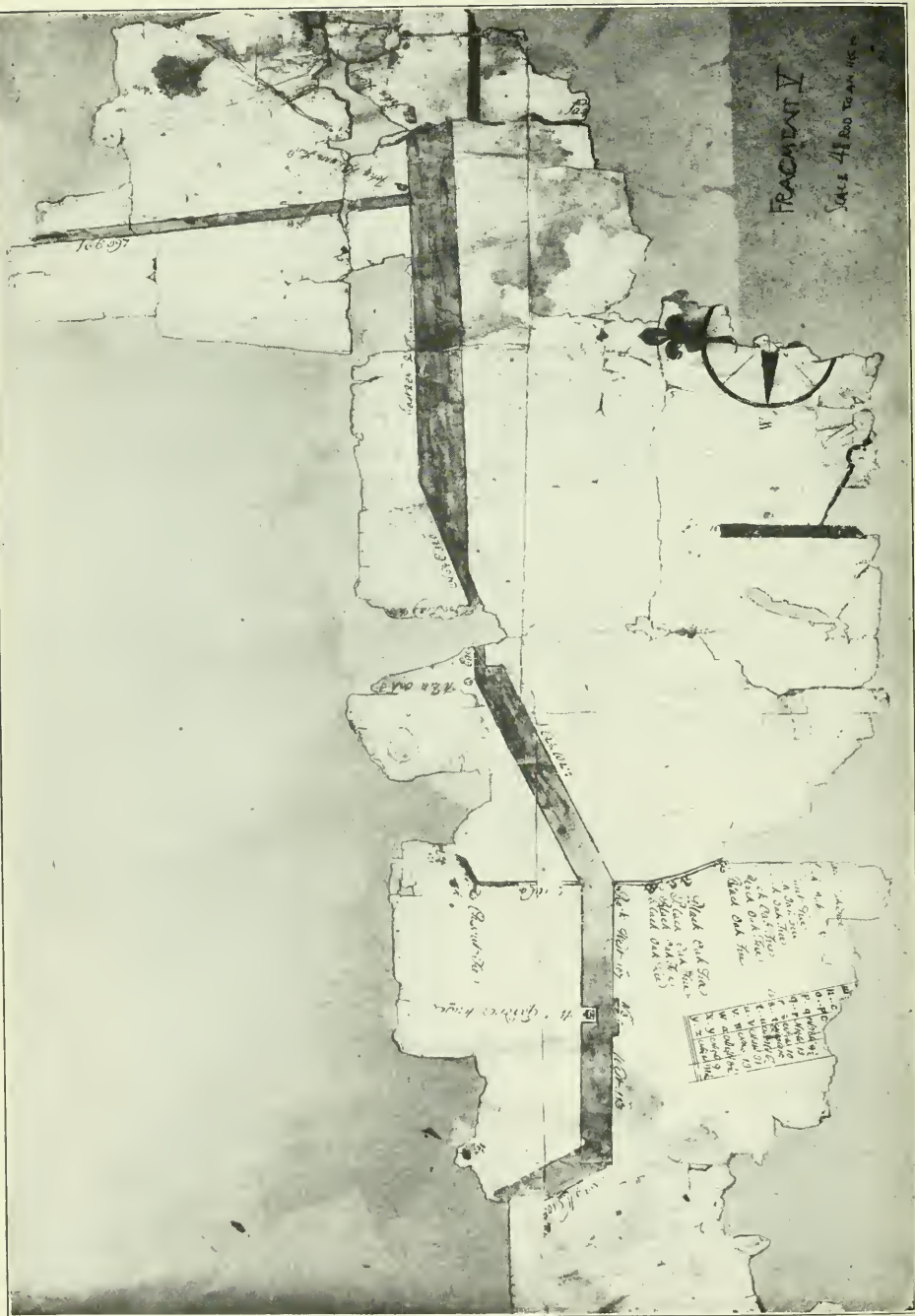
At the Saugatucket River this road met the most remarkable road laid out by the Purchasers. Of course they had land a plenty but why such a gargantuan highway! No wonder Helme, many years later, called it "the Broad Road". Benoni Gardner gives it first place in his deposition and "Saith that to his Certain Knowledge that the highway Leading from the Sawcatucket In Said Kingstown up to the Ceder Swamp was laid out upon a Straight Line from Said Sawcatucket up to Sd Ceder Swamp by the purchasers of petaquamscutt Purchase fourty Rod in bredth throughout, Southward from Jeri Bulls Line [,] himself being then present and one unproved in lyout of sd highway [,] and also the Land formerly belonging to William Haviland" . . . "Jeri Bulls Line" was the southerly line of his five hundred acre farm at Little Rest Hill. This great road, 220 feet wide, ran in a westerly direction from the Saugatucket River through what is now Watson's Corner, Gould and Curtis Corners, to the edge of the Cedar Swamp by Worden's Pond.

A fragment of the Helme plat fortunately shows this remarkable road; but also shows that the generous proportions were not carried out but for two hundred and ninety rods from the Saugatucket River. Here it narrowed down to ten rods for a distance of about two hundred rods, when it abruptly increased to twenty-six rods until it reached the Cedar Swamp, obligingly turning out to avoid the residence of William Gardner, Esquire! There are references to this road as of twenty-six rods in width but its vagaries would allow it almost any designation.

A further point to be noticed on the Helme Plat is the utter disregard as to the juncture of the "Broad Road" with the road from Pettaquamscutt to the Saugatucket at John Kenyon, Jr.'s house. Anyone travelling this road today

FRAGMENT V

Scale 4:100 to an inch



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may still note, at this point, a sharp bend to the south which was necessarily made to join the two roads.

The "Broad Road," however, soon was shorn of its greatness; for in the beginning of the year 1726-7, the proprietors of the Pettaquamscutt Purchase ordered Helme to reduce the road to five rods width, and to divide the surplus land on either side into house lots for the Purchasers. The plat of these divisions is reproduced herewith.

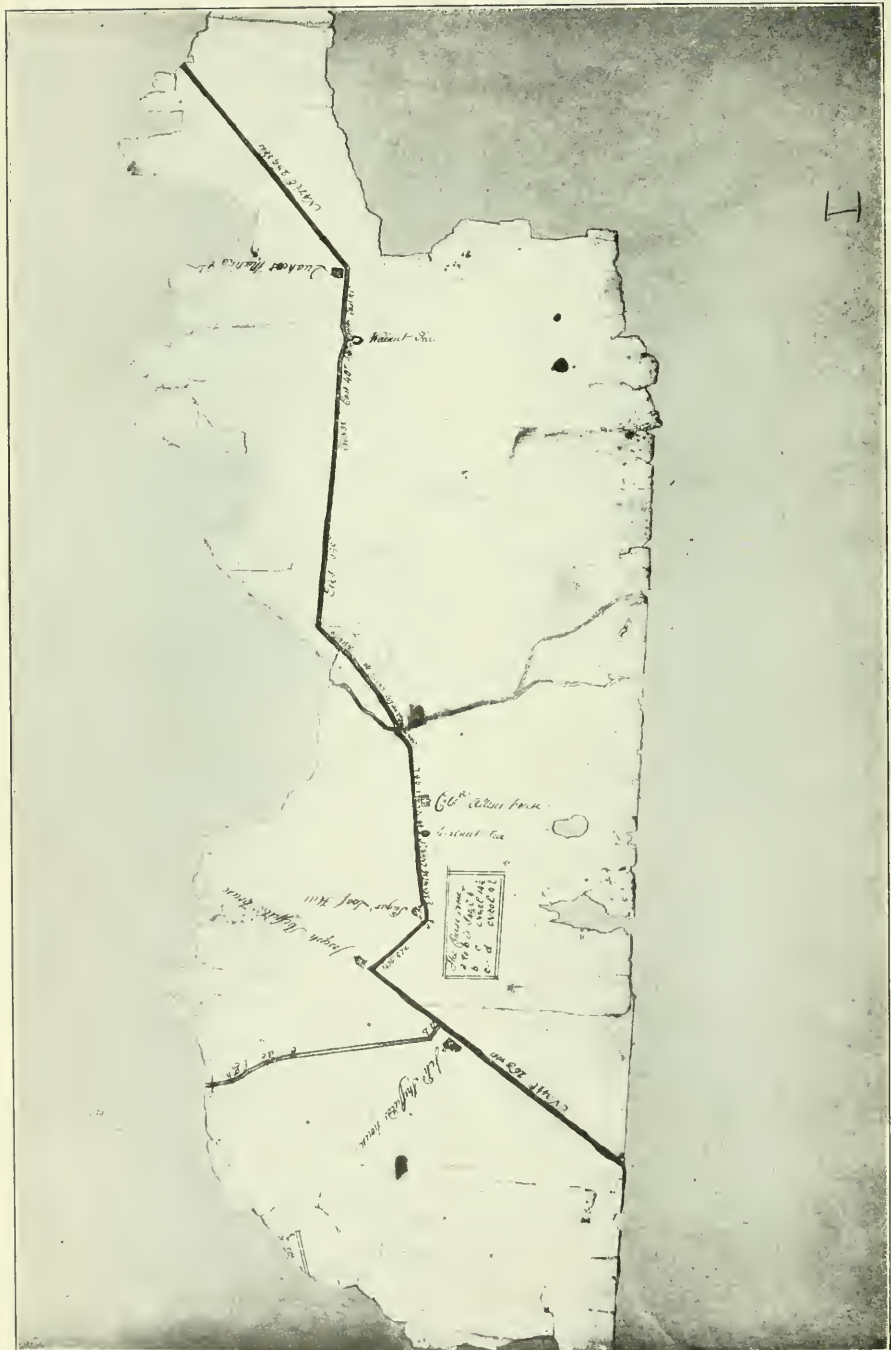
Helme's plat further shows two roads running northward from the "Broad Road." The first was that near the Saugatucket at what is now Watson's Corners. Benoni describes this as follows: "and also another highway beginning at the aforesd fourty Rode highway Run Northward by the Land of the Aforesd Bulls then turns westward by sd Bulls and So Long Between Robert Potters Land and Wm Knowles Land Until it Meetts with the afore Named Chepuchsaugg River" . . . Henry Gardner states: "near to Jn I. Kinyons house along between the lands of Abiel Sherman & Saml Helmes northward up to Joseph Cases north east corner and from thence westward between Sd Cases Land & Robert Hannah Land & so along to Chepucket River between the newles (*Knowles*) Land and the Land now in the possession of Robert Potter . . ."

This road still remains the same today. From Watson's Corners northward to Rose Hill, then to the westward to Kingston Hill and through the village of Kingston to the Chepuxet River. The difference in the names of Case and Bull in the two depositions, as owners of the land to the westward of the road, is explained by the fact that heirs of Jireh Bull sold a portion of their land to Joseph Case in 1693. In other words it was Bull's land when the road was laid out, but Case's land when the deposition was made. This situation frequently arises in the description of highways and in the bounds of lands, with confusing results to the unwary searcher.

The other road leading northerly from the "Broad Road" was that which is now a portion of the road which leads in a northerly direction from the Post Road, some distance Southwest from Sugar Loaf Hill in Wakefield, through Curtis Corners, to Kingston Village, and is now known as the "Old South Road." However, the only portion of this road mentioned by the Gardner's is that from Curtis Corners to Kingston Village. Benoni Gardner describes it as "another highway Runing from aforesd forty Rode Highway Extending Northward between the Land of Saml Tefft and Land belonging to Rowse Helme Esqr. So Extending Northward Untill it Metts with the Last highway before recited by Wm Knowles . . ." (the main road through Kingston Village). Henry Gardner describes it from the opposite direction; "another highway Leading from the Sd highway that Runs Between said Knowles & Robert Potters Land Southward to the Eastward of Wm. Knowles & Saml Teffts Land adjoining to Sd Land as far as Robert Hazards Survey Run."

In the year 1703, this road was again laid out⁵ by the town, it being a portion of the highway from the "town of Westerly bounds," which is the present bound of Charlestown, to the "bounds between our town and East Greenwich." This highway was what is now the Post Road from the Charlestown line as far as the first road South of Sugar Loaf Hill, here it turns westward into the Old South Road to Kingston, through the village and north along the present North Road, so-called, then east and north and again east by the spot where the old Narragansett Church stood, then northward down Ridge Hill through Allentown, by Devil's Foot to "John North's foudr," now Hunt's River, bound of the town of East Greenwich.

⁵This report is printed in full in the *Early History of Narragansett*, pp. 223-225.



I

In the same record, mention is made of the road by Sugar Loaf, through the town of Wakefield, as it now is, and up Tower Hill, to "a ten rod highway, formerly laid out by the purchasers at the head of the lotts upon Pitticomcott Hill." This portion is shown on the Helme Plat.

But in returning to the depositions of the Gardners; one further road should be mentioned. It commenced at the MacSparran Hill, nearly opposite Hannah Robinson Rock, and ran westerly to Mooresfield and from there northerly and westerly, to the junction of the present North Road from Kingston Village, along the South Kingston town line to the Chepuxet River. Henry Gardner describes it as "another Highway . . . Leading between ye Land of John Watson the Land of Wm. Gardiners Westward along between the Land of Benony Gardner & others & along by Robert Hazards Land . . . Westward to Chepuchet River . . ." Benoni Gardner's description is similar except mentioning that it passed by "the Deponents Land".

There is one road that is not mentioned in the depositions of the Gardiners nor in the report of 1704. This is the bit of road from Rose Hill, at the point where the road from Watson's Corners "turn Westward by sd Bulls," to the Saugatucket at Mooresfield. This was probably a driftway at first, cut through the woods as a short cut to join the road to Pettaquamscutt Hill. Such driftways, originally made to afford access to small tracts of land off the main highways, often were later laid out and accepted. Many of the old lots can even now be placed by these old and little used roads.

Roger Williams and the English Revolution of 1648 (*Cont'd*)

By JAMES ERNST

In my article on "Roger Williams and the English Revolution," R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXIV, No. 1, January, 1931, I presented references to Roger Williams, his pamphlets and his religious and political ideas, discovered in the Thomason Collection of Commonwealth pamphlets in the British Museum. I have some additional references which may be of help in making clearer his relationships in the New England colonies and aid in estimating the influence of Mr. Williams and his writings in bringing on the English Revolution of 1648.

The material of this article is presented with the hope of supplementing and enforcing the statements and conclusions of my article of January, 1931, and for this purpose is arranged in four groups: (1) references to Mr. Williams, his pamphlets and ideas; (2) names of probable associates during his stay in England from 1651 to 1654; (3) pamphlets published to discredit his mission work among the Indians; and (4) references to Mr. Williams and his writings sent to me by Professor William Haller of Barnard College, New York City.

The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience by Roger Williams appeared in London, July 15, 1644. Parliament by the advice of the Assembly of Divines ordered on August 9 that *The Bloody Tenent* be burned by the public hangman. (See R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXIV, January, 1931, pp. 9-12.) In his *Antapologia* Rev. Thomas Edwards, one of the leading Scottish divines, on July 13, 1644, quoted on page 49, *Master Cotton's*

Letter Examined by Roger Williams, and on page 289 referred to Cotton's "Letter to Roger Williams." He further remarked on page 165 that Parliament might with profit take over the New England method of persecution against the Sectaries, referring to the persecutions as if they were commonly known in England; that Parliament might

"Justly have dealt with you, as the Magistrates in New England did with Mr. Williams and the Antinomians, Familists and Anabaptists there, and yet have said they punished you not for your consciences, nor because of such opinions but because your opinions, ways and practices were an occasion of much hurt to the commonwealth, a breach of civil peace."

In September, 1644, William Prynne of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., in *Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government* (E-257. Br. Mus.) asked the Independents, and especially Roger Williams and Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, etc.:

"Whether that independent government which some contend for, if positively and fully agreed on, and laid down without disguises, and then freely pondered in the balance of scripture or right reason, be not of its own nature a very seminary of schism and dangerous divisions in Church, and State? A bloody plea to let in an inundation of all manner of heresies, errors, sects, religions, destructive opinions, Libertinism and lawlessness among us, without any sufficient means of preventing or suppressing them when introduced? Whether the final result of it (as Master Williams in his late dangerous, Licentious Book [Marginal note has *A Bloody Tenent*] determines) will not really resolve it self into this detestable conclusion: That every man, whether he be Jew, Turk, Pagan, Papist, Arminian, Anabaptist, etc., ought to be left to his own free liberty of conscience, without any coercion or restraint, to embrace and publicly to profess what religion, opinion, church, government, he pleaseth, and conceiveth to be truest,

thought never so erroneous, false, seditious, detestable in itself?"

"And whether such a government as this ought to be embraced, much less established among us (the sad effects whereof we have already experimentally felt, by the late dangerous increase of many Anabaptistical, Antinomian, Heretical, Atheisticall opinions etc. . . lately breached, preached and printed . . . ?"

That same month Mr. Prynne published a defense of the National Church in the *Independency Examined* (E-257) calling the Independent ideas, "Some Independent new-minted objections." He hoped to convince, and reconcile them to the State-Church, claiming that in their "new form of government" the "Independents have not yet discovered to the world the full truth of what they assert." Adam Stewart in *To M. S. Alias Two Brethren*, October 3, 1644, (E-20) and an anonymous writer in *Faces About*, October 21, (E-13), take the Independents severely to task for their dangerous opinions which they find so confusing and can not clearly distinguish from the Puritans of the more conservative groups.

After the burning of *The Bloody Tenent* by order of Parliament, the principles of toleration, full liberty of conscience, and rights of the individual were being discussed with ever more vehemence and bitterness. The "Well-wishers to Man" rose to a vigorous defence of the liberty of "heresies, blasphemies and sedition." Defenders of the principles so forcibly proclaimed by Mr. Williams came forward with a noble courage. Most of them prudently avoided a direct mention of Williams, even though they borrowed copiously and paraphrased freely from his writings. Among these writers were John Goodwin in *M. S. to A. S.*, May 3, (E-45); *Theomachia*, September 2, (E-12); *John the Baptist . . . or, A Necessity of Liberty of Conscience*, September 23, (E-12); *Innocencies Triumph*, October 26 (E-14); Henry Burton in *A Vindication of Churches Commonly Called Independents*, November,

(E-17); and Hez. Woodward in *Inquiries into Our Miseries*, December, (E-22). In *A Reply of the Two Brethren to A. S.*, presumably by Philip Nye and Sidrach Simpson, the authors came forward in defense of their associate Roger Williams. John Saltmarsh in *Dawnings of Light*, January 4, 1645, (E-1168(3)), under the section discussing "Liberty Improved" presented Twelve points many of which appear in the phraseology of *The Bloudy Tenent. A Short Answer to A. S.*, the second part of Duply, February 1645 (E-271), page 30, has a reference to *The Bloudy Tenent*.

In *Certain Brief Observations and Antiqueries on Master Prin's Twelve Questions*, October 4, (E-10), "A Well-wisher" has a marginal note on Roger Williams, page 5, dealing with Prynne's third query: "In this querie he quotes a saying in a Booke called *The Bloudy Tenent* which was written by one as contrary to this as the Independents as he is to the Presbyterians and they utterly disavow the Booke." Henry Burton gave an *Answer to Mr. William Prynne's Twelve Questions*, November, (E-115), and as friend of Roger Williams and Sir Henry Vane came out in defense of full liberty of conscience: "I know the permitting of so many different opinions in a country is usually objected to as a Bug-bear of all confusion and a disturber in the Civil State . . . Why should it breed greater confusion or decompose the civil peace of England by permitting an English Lutheran, Brownist, Antinomian, Anabaptist, Jew, Turk or others, more than if they were of another nation?" He continued, "I find no national church in the New Testament but several Independent ones." The ideas of the eight queries on pages 24-25 were most fully expressed for first time in *The Bloudy Tenent* on July 15.

On October 19, 1644, Mr. Prynne made *A Full Reply*, (E-257), to the Independents and Sectarians giving a survey of the grounds of the controversy since the appearance of *The Apologetical Narration* by the Five Brethren early in 1644 and including *A Reply of the Two Brethren*

10 A. S. He severely condemned the ideas of full liberty of conscience and separation of church and state, and fully agreed with the church and state policy of New England for "excommunicating and banishing those who will not submit unto it."

In December there appeared two pamphlets making references to *The Bloody Tenent*. Charles Blackwood in the *Storming of Antichrist*, December 28, (E-22(15), page 16, referred to the "Bloody Tenent of Truth" quoting from it in defense of absolute liberty of conscience. And George Gillespie in *Wholesome Severity Reconciled with Christian Liberty*, December 16, (E-24), with "the chief arguments and exceptions used in the *Bloody Tenent* . . . examined," discussed the leading pamphlets that appeared in 1644 in defense of complete liberty of conscience and separation of church and state. A few quotations from his pamphlet indicates the position he gave to the *Bloody Tenent*:

"I find no material arguments in him for liberty of conscience, but what I found in the *Bloody Tenent*, the *Compassionate Samaritan* and *M. S. to A. S.*"

In the Preface he said: "So liberty of conscience is a sweet and taking word among the less discerning sort of godly people newly come out of the house of bondage, out of the popish and Prelatical typranny; I say the less discerning sort, because those of the godly who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil know that liberty of heresie and schism is not part of liberty of conscience." On page 2, appears this objection: "that the magistrate ought not to inflict any punishment nor put forth any coercive power upon heretics or sectaries but on the contrary grant them liberty and toleration . . . the very same is maintained in some books printed . . . in this year of conclusion, viz: *The Bloody Tenent*; *Liberty of Conscience*; *The Compassionate Samaritan*; *John the Baptist*; and *Mr. Goodwin* in his *Theomachia*, p. 50, and in his *Innocencies Triumph*, p. 8." On page 12 appears this statement: "The

most arrant magignant answer in the words of Mr. Williams, Chap. 109—"Civil power or State of Israel was merely figurative" in the Old Testament. Mr. Williams and the *Bloudy Tenent* are mentioned on pages 13, 15, 16, 17, and 30; and on page 18, is this significant quotation: "Christ's ordinances put upon a whole city or a nation may more civilize and moralize, but never Christianize them: says Mr. Williams, Chap. 82."

The attitude of Gillespie and those other pamphleteers who opposed and condemned the Independents and Sectaries and defended Parliament and Assembly of Divines is perhaps most clearly expressed in these word from George Gillespie: complete liberty of conscience and the doctrines of the sectaries is a "pernicious, God-provoking, Truth-defacing, church ruining, etc., state-shaking toleration. The plain English of the question is, Whether the Christian magistrate be keeper of both Tables?"

In order fully to appreciate the influence of Roger Williams in England it is necessary to have a more precise knowledge of his acquaintances and associates and friends. In 1671 Roger Williams wrote to John Cotton Jr., about an incident which took place during his second visit to England 1651-1654: "That excellent servant of God, Mr. John Owen, (called Dr. Owen) told me before the General, who sent for me about that very business," explained Mr. Williams about the discussion they had of the *Bloudy Tenet Washed White* by John Cotton in 1647," that before I landed himself and many others had answered Mr. Cotton's book already."

Christopher Feake and Mr. Greenhill are known to have been closely associated with Mr. Williams during both his visits to England. In *Dissatisfaction Satisfied*, December 22, 1653, (E-725) pages 17-18, John Goodwin presents a list of men who most probably were associates of Williams on his second visit; he states that "Mr. John Simpson, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. Thomas Brooks,

Mr. Hanserd Knollys, Mr. T. Harrison, Mr. Christopher Feake, Mr. Richard Wallaston, Mr. Henry Jesse with several others . . . in November, 1651" subscribed to the principles of people's sovereignty and separation of church and state. Roger Williams arrived in London about Christmas time 1651, and we know that he at once became a member of the republican groups of London.

The ministers and magistrates of the United Colonies in New England soon discovered that their "Sunshine" pamphlets on Indian conversions were not sufficient to eradicate the belief in England that they were not prosecuting their mission work with enough zeal. Consequently they published several more pamphlets on Indian missions for the English reading public. These pamphlets had a three-fold aim: to praise their own mission work among the Indians; to prove the statements of Mr. Williams in 1643-1644 false and slanderous in English eyes; and to discredit the mission work of Roger Williams and his fellow-colonists on the Narragansett Bay. The pamphlets created a double falsehood, by giving a distorted view of their own mission work and by making untrue statements about Williams and his fellow-colonists.

Three pamphlets published under the auspices of the "Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, Coopers Hall, London" and edited by Rev. Henry Whitfield, late of New England, are of interest in this sinister and rather unChristlike purpose of the New England clergy: *The Light Appearing More and More towards a Perfect Day*, February, 1651 (E-624); *Strength out of Weakness*, August 4, 1652 (E-673); and *Tear of Repentance*, May 21, 1653 (E-697). The only part of the pamphlets of interest here is that which strives to propagate a false view of the Indian mission work of the settlers on the Narragansett Bay. In the first pamphlet appears this statement by Eliot on page 23: "I advised with Mr. Cotton and others . . . and this I propounded

. . . they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other law-giver." In the second pamphlet, we are informed that the covenant prepared for the Indians began: "We are the sons of Adam; we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins." When Williams and others in Rhode Island disagreed with this method of Indian conversion, they fell under the curse of the United Colonies.

The Narragansett sachems did not receive Rev. Eliot and other missionaries "well," but some of the subject Indians did, "expressing likewise that they did not expect their sachems would pray to God because they were so proud." Eliot then condemned Gorton's company for being an evil influence among the Indians, preventing their conversion. Rev. William Leverich of Plymouth makes this implied reference to Williams and his colony about "what singular conflicts I have met withall in my travels amongst our own countrymen, divers of them are transported with their (though not singular) fancies, to the rejecting of all churches and ordinances by a new cunning and . . . the last but most pernicious plot of the Devil to undermine all religion and introduce all Atheism and profaneness, if it were possible, together with which, I have observed a spirit of Pharisaism and formality too, too evidently creeping upon it." Although this is supposed to be an article on Indian missions, its purpose needs no explanation.

Thomas Allen, formerly of New England, gives as his testimony: "It seems that some of late have been so impudently bold (which I cannot sufficiently wonder at) as to report and publickly affirm that there was no such thing as preaching and dispensing of the Gospel among the natives of New England . . . That there is such a work in hand in New England . . . all the magistrates and ministers and people in that place (who know anything) will be ready to attest" (See R. I. H. S. C. Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 40ff, and 49-54). Among the other persons who gave their testimony in praise of Rev. John Eliot and against

Roger Williams are Rev. John Eliot, John Endicott, John Wilson, who mentions Eliot 17 times in 5 pages, Anthony Bessey, Thomas Mayhew, and William French.

Roger Williams, who was then in England, read these pamphlets when they came off the press. Cromwell, Baillie, Edwards, Thoroughgood and many others made it their special duty to confer with Mr. Williams about these pamphlets, and the Indian mission work. Of this he gives a hint in his letters. In 1654, soon after his return to Providence, Williams had occasion to intercede for the Indians and prevent a threatening Indian slaughter. He wrote to the General Court of Massachusetts: "We have in these parts a sound of your meditating of a war against these natives . . . At my last departure for England I was importuned by the Narragansett sachems, and especially by Ninigret, to present their petition to the high sachems of England, that they might not be forced from their religion; and for not changing their religion be invaded by war; for they said they were daily visited by Indians that came from about the Massachusetts that if they would not pray they should be destroyed by war. With these petitions I acquainted, in private discourses, divers of the chiefs of our nation, and especially his Highness, who, in many discourses I had with him, never expressed the least tittle of displeasure, as hath been reported . . . and after hearing of yourselves and us, it hath pleased his Highness and Council to grant amongst other favors to this colony, some expressly concerning the very Indians, the native inhabitants of this jurisdiction."

"I pray it may be remembered . . . how all England and other nations ring with the glorious conversion of the Indians of New England. You know how many books are dispersed throughout the nation on the subject (in some of them the Narragansett chief sachems are publicly branded for refusing to pray and be converted) . . . all the pulpits in England have been commanded to sound of this glorious work (I speaks not ironically, but only mention what

all the printed books mention), and that by the highest command and authority of Parliament, the church wardens went from house to house to gather supplies for this work." But unfortunately Roger Williams was to find upon his return not a glorious conversion, but instead the four United Colonies meditating an Indian war.

Professor William Haller of Barnard College, New York City, recently sent me a list of pamphlets containing references to *The Bloody Tenent*, with permission to record them in the R. I. H. S. COLLECTIONS. Most of the works on the list sent by Professor Haller are in the McAlpin Collection of Union Seminary. I shall record his material as he sent it to me. Six of the pamphlets were published in 1644: Herbert Palmer, *Glass of God's Providence*, 13 August. "Some bookes . . . plead for Popery, Judaisme, Turcisme, Paganisme, and all manner of false Religions." Thomas Hill, *Season for England's Deepe- Reflection*, 13 Aug., "opening a doore . . . even for Jewes, Turkes, and any whomsoever"; the marginal note says "See Bloody Tenent." Anon, (probably by someone in John Goodwin's crowd, but neither Goodwin nor Henry Robinson) *Certain briefe Observations*, 4 Oct., see p. 5: Margin—"a Booke called the *Bloody Tenent*." The Independent disavows Williams. (George Gillespie. See McAlpin Catalogue) *A Late Dialogue*, 30 Oct., cites *Bloody Tenent—Compassionate Samaritane, John the Baptist, Theomachia.* (Henry Robinson). *Answeer to Mr. William Prynne*, 1 Nov., on page 27 recommends B. T.—Comp. Sam.—J. the B. And Charles Blackwood, *Storming of Antichrist*, 28 Dec., cites B. T., *M. S. to A. S.* and *Theomachia*.

Five other pamphlets containing references to Mr. Williams were published in 1645: George Gillespie, *Wholesome Severity Reconyled*, 8 Jan., *Bloody Tenent* is mentioned in title and repeated at length in text. (Henry Robinson) *Short Answeer to A. S.* (Adam Stewart) 3 Feb., refers to *Bloody Tenent* on page 30. Ephraim Pagitt, *Her-*

esiography, 8 May, refers to the *Bloudy Tenent* and also to Milton. (Richard Overton) *Sacred Decretall*, 31 May, refers to the *Bloudy Tenent* in the opening pages. Richard Baillie, *Errours and Indurations*, 30 July, uses the phrase about Turks, Jews, etc. And Thomas Edwards, *Casting Down*, 28 July, 1647, has frequent references to the *Bloudy Tenent*. (Professor Haller has identified *Answer to Mr. William Prynne* and *Short Answer to A. S.* as the works of Henry Robinson.)

No definitive conclusions on the influence of Roger Williams and his pamphlets in the English Civil War and Revolution of 1648 can as yet be drawn from the materials presented in this article and that of R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXIV, January, 1931. A great deal of research in the Commonwealth pamphlet collections of Union Seminary, Yale, Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the British Museum is still to be done before this question can be finally decided. Nevertheless, the conclusion of Professor Dunning may be tentatively accepted, that *The Bloudy Tenent* "derived its principles and its form from his American experience" and "expressed essentially the resolution of a body of religious sectaries, . . . and the fuller implications of the theory which the work embodied were revealed in the political revolution which was effected in 1647-1648 by the Army."

Among the State Papers of the Public Record Office, London, Admiralty Commission 18, Vol. 115, No. 132, appears a letter from Capt. Joseph Ames, Winsley, Spithead. The letter was sent to his Highness, Lord Protector Cromwell, from Falmouth, on October 10, 1655. Capt. Ames arrived the day before with twelve sails of Newfoundlanders and awaits orders. The letter to his Highness was accompanied "with a young deer that came from Mr. Williams, President in Providence Plantations in New-England."

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

The *Narrative of American Voyages* of Captain William Owen, R. N., which is printed in the March, 1931, issue of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, contains ten pages relating to his visit to Rhode Island in August, 1767. Among other comments he wrote: "The private people are cunning, deceitful and selfish" . . . , "Their Magistrates are partial and corrupt; and it is folly to expect justice in their Courts of Judicature" . . . , and "Rhode Island used to be celebrated for the beauty of its women . . ."

Margaret Fuller, by Margaret Bell, with an introduction by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, is a volume of 320 pages recently issued by Charles Boni.

Antiques for April, 1931, contains an article with illustrations of some Rhode Island silver spoons.

A genealogy of the Niles family of Rhode Island appears in the April, 1931, issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

The Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1929, page 286, contains an account of the Gulf Stream, in which it is related that because the Rhode Island sea captains of about 1770 were acquainted with the course of the Gulf Stream, they were able to make the westward trip across the Atlantic in about two weeks less time than the English packets.

The Society has obtained from the American Antiquarian Society a photostat of a rare poem by Jemima Wilkinson¹, entitled "A Wonderful Dream."

¹See R. I. H. S. C., vol. XXIV p. 60.

Bequest

Mr. Victor Wilbour, for many years a member of the Society, died on May 17, 1931. He left a bequest of \$20,000, to the Society, to be paid at the death of his sister, and to be known as the Charles and Sarah Howe Wilbour Fund, in memory of his grandparents.

Queen's Fort

Mr. Marsden J. Perry has generously presented to the Society a tract of some fifty-three acres in North Kingstown and Exeter, containing the famous Queen's Fort, which is to be held by the Society as a permanent public historic park.

Notes

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Joshua M. Addeman
 Mrs. Wallace Campbell
 Mrs. Howard L. Anthony
 Mr. Emil G. Pieper
 Mrs. William H. Hoffman
 Mrs. Sarah Minchin Barker
 Mr. Allan Forbes

Mr. Ernest A. Harris
 Rev. Anthony R. Parshley
 Mrs. Austin T. Levy
 Hon. Ernest L. Sprague
 Mrs. James A. Nealey
 Miss Mary H. Parsons



ONE OF FIVE SILVER SPOONS MARKED A. M. L., FOR
ARNOLD AND MARY LEWIS OF EXETER WHO WERE
MARRIED OCTOBER 10, 1822.

These spoons were made out of coin silver by
Robert Reynolds of Exeter, R. I., and were
recently presented to the Society by Miss Alice
Fry of Willimantic, Connecticut.

Heraldic Notes

BOWEN

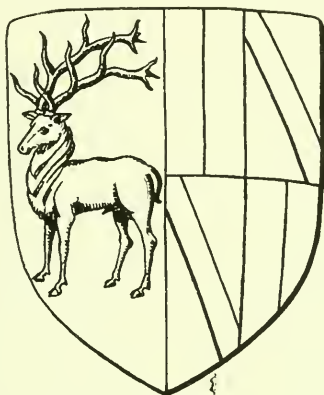


Armorial tombstones mark the graves of Jabez Bowen of Rehoboth, Mass., who died in 1770, aged 74, and of his wife, Huldah, who died in 1754. These stones are in the old Rehoboth burial ground, near Rumford in East Providence. The arms are "A stag trippant pierced in the back by an arrow," with the crest "A stag's head erased." The carving on the stone in memory of Huldah is much more obliterated by the ravages of time than the carving on Jabez' stone.

Burke gives "Azure a stag argent with an arrow stuck in the back and attired or" for the Bowens of Kittle Hill and Swansea, co. Glamorgan, but with a different crest. Burke also gives a variant coat "Gules a stag trippant argent pierced in the back with an arrow and attired or" as granted in 1812 to the Bowens of Milford, co. Mayo. The crest is different, and the change of the field from azure to gules was evidently "for difference."

The Jabez Bowen of this armorial tombstone was born in 1696, the son of Dr. Richard Bowen (\pm 1658-1736), son of Thomas Bowen of Salem, son of Richard Bowen of Rehoboth, who is said to have come from Swansea, co. Glamorgan.

JONES



William Jones, Senr., of Wellington in Great Britain, died on September 26, 1739, aged 59 years, and was buried in what is now East Providence, where his grave is marked by an armorial tombstone. The arms are "A stag statant impaling a quartered coat, 1 and 4 per pale, 2 and 3 a bend," with the crest "A stag's head."

Burke gives "Sable a buck passant argent attired or" for the Jones of Esthall, co. Oxford, 1634, descended from the Jones of co. Flint, and "Sable a stag standing at gaze argent, attired and unguled or" for the Jones of co. Monmouth. The three crests differ. Apparently "Sable a stag argent" was the parent coat of one family of Jones of Wales.

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JUNE, 1931.

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 Mr. Frank W. Matteson
 Mr. William L. Mauran
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 Mrs. Frank Everitt Maxwell
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 Mr. W. Granville Meader
 Mrs. Paul A. Merriam
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 Mrs. E. Bruce Merriman
 Mr. Harold T. Merriman
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 Mrs. I. B. Merriman
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 Mr. Houghton P. Metcalf
 Mrs. I. Harris Metcalf
 Hon. Jesse H. Metcalf
 Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf
 Mr. Stephen O. Metcalf
 Lt. Col. Willis C. Metcalf
 Mr. William Davis Miller
 Mrs. William Davis Miller
 Mr. George L. Miner
 Hon. Louis Monast
 Mr. G. A. Moriarty, Jr.
 Mrs. Bentley W. Morse
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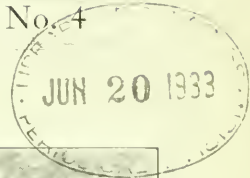
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RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXIV

OCTOBER, 1931

No. 4



RUINS OF THE WALL OF QUEEN'S FORT.

Courtesy of the Providence Journal.

Issued Quarterly

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

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No. 4

ADDISON P. MUNROE, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Queen's Fort*

About a mile and a half northwest of Wickford Junction on the North Kingstown and Exeter boundary line, three quarters of a mile south of the southern line of the Town of East Greenwich, rises precipitously a steep wooded knoll. On top of this knoll, which reaches a height of 372 feet above sea level, the highest point in North Kingstown, are the ruins of an old stone wall. Originally this rather crudely made stone wall must have stood three or four feet high, but the ravages of time, perhaps assisted by human vandalism, have to a large extent demolished the wall. Enough of the stones however remain in place, with the fallen stones heaped about them, to identify the lines

*Queen's Fort was recently presented to the Rhode Island Historical Society by Marsden J. Perry, Esq.

of the former fortifications. For this dilapidated stone wall was formerly part of the defences of a mysterious old fort whose history is now lost in the mist of antiquity.

The knoll, which arises abruptly some forty feet above the surrounding country, has an approximately level top, along the edge of which the wall is built. From the south-east the fort is protected by a natural formation, for that side of the hill is covered with huge boulders which would prevent an attack by an armed force of any size. These boulders form a natural wall for about a hundred and seventy feet. From the east end of the boulders the artificial wall extends northerly some sixty feet to what appears to have been a sort of bastion. Thence the wall extends in a northerly and westerly direction to a large clump of boulders on the north side of the hill. From the west side of these boulders the wall continues westerly and south-westerly about a hundred and twenty feet to another clump of boulders. At one point in this section the original wall seems to have been broken by an entrance, with a wall extending northward on the east side of the entrance at right angles to the main wall. From the second clump of boulders the wall continues, irregularly as regards the points of the compass, but in general southerly, to the west end of the boulders at the south part of the hill. This section of the wall is broken by two or three small clumps of boulders, by a gully, by an entrance from the west, and by one well-marked bastion and at its southern end by what may be the remains of another bastion. This bastion, as well as the other features noted, can be found clearly shown on the *Plan of Queen's Fort*, drawn in November 1865 by Mr. Henry B. Hammond for the Rhode Island Historical Society, and published on the cover of the October 1923 issue of the Society's *Collections*, and opposite page 96 of *Sachems of the Narragansetts*. Roughly speaking the fort might be said to be approximately an oval of about two hundred feet by one hundred and fifty feet.

Elisha R. Potter, the tireless antiquary of the South

County, recorded the current traditions of his day in regard to this fort and published his findings in 1835 in volume 3 of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*. He states (p. 84) that this was the remains of an Indian Fort, which in 1835 was "still known by the name of *Queen's Fort*." Potter continues: "There is a hollow in the rock, which has been always known as the Queen's bedroom, and a large room, the entrance of which is nearly concealed, and which is supposed from tradition, to have been a hiding place for the Indians, and in which arrows &c. have been often found. It stands on land now owned by the Northups, formerly by the Wilkies, and is sometimes called the Wilky fort."

This reference to Queen's Fort by Potter is a footnote to his account of the march of the colonial army through "the country of the Old Squaw Queen." His account consists of a rewording of the account in an anonymous pamphlet printed in 1676, entitled *A Continuation of the State of New England, being a farther account of the Indian War*, to which he specifically refers, together with some items from Hubbard.

Hubbard, referring to the march of December 19 wrote: "Thus having waded fourteen or fifteen Mile through the Country of the old Queen, or *Sunke Squaw* of *Narhaganset*; they came at one a clock upon the Edg of the Swamp, . . ."

The anonymous author of the *Continuation*, referred to above, was somewhat confused for he gives Saturday December 19, 1675 as the date of Captain Prentice's expedition to "*the Narragansett Dwellings*" which he subsequently called "*the Narragansett Country (or Town)*." Saturday did not fall on December 19, but on December 18, which it later appears is the date intended. His account runs that they "marched towards the *Narragansett Country (or Town)* where finding no *Indians*, they were at a stand, not knowing which way to go in pursuit of the *Indians*, but however during their stay, their Capt. *Prentice*

tice, with his company discovered some place under ground, wherein was Indian corn laid up in store by them: this encouraged them to look further; whereupon in their search they found several good quantities of that grain in like manner, which afterwards was conveyed to the garrison." This expedition, according to the anonymous writer, took place on the Saturday before the Great Swamp Fight, so on December 18, apparently during the march of the main army from Cocumcussoc to Pettaquamscutt. If the date of the expedition is correct, it was the second trip made by Captain Prentice to the Indian village of the old Queen, for on December 14 an attack was made on this village, as is shown by the following contemporary accounts.

Joseph Dudley writing from "Mr. Smith's" on December 15, wrote,¹ "We have burned two of their Towns, viz: Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & the old Queens quarters consisting of about 150, many of them large, wigwams & seized & slayn 50 persons in all our prisoners being about 40".

Hubbard wrote in 1677 "Two Dayes after, Decemb. 14th, five Files of men sent out under Serjeant Bennet and another, upon the Scout, kill'd one Man and one Woman, and brought in four more by one of the Clock: the whole company marched after into some of the Sachim's Country, where they burnt an hundred and fifty Wigwams, killed seven of the Enemy, and brought in eight Prisoners, when they returned at Night."

The anonymous pamphlet, already quoted, states that "they had taken 55 Indians killed 10 more and burnt 150 wigwams, with the loss of four of our men and as many wounded. This exploit was performed by Captain *Prentice*, a Captain of the Horse".

James Oliver writing² on January 26, said "Dec. 14th,

¹Bodge, 3d Edit., p. 192.

²Bodge, 3d Edit., p. 174.

our general went out with horse and foot, I with my company was left to keep garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians, and brought in four prisoners, one of whom was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7, and brought in 9 more, young and old."

A farther Brief and True Narration of the late wars . . ., printed in London in 1676, states: "Captain *Prentice* with a Troop of Horse Scouting to discover the posture of the Enemy, discovered about 200 *Indians*, which were supposed to be the *Squaw Sachems*: these he immediately engaged with, and slew ten of them, and took about 40 Prisoners, (in which Combate only his Lieutenant was wounded) which he brought to the *English* Camp, and then found where the *Indians* had buried much Corn (as their custom is) in dry pits in Baskets."

It will be seen that the accounts of Oliver and Hubbard agree that two expeditions were sent out on December 14. Hubbard relates that one of these burned 150 wigwams which agrees with the anonymous writer and with Dudley's letter of December 15, which latter document locates definitely the 150 wigwams as at the Old Queen's village.

The exact location of the "old Queen's quarters" or "Town," the site of the 150 wigwams, cannot be identified from the meagre references that have come down to our time, but it may well have been near Queen's Fort.

The Old Queen was Matantuck, who was also variously called Quaiapen, Sunksquaw, Magnus, the Old Queene, and the Squaw Sachem.

Female chiefs were called "saunks" by the Indians, but many English writers being ignorant of that fact, thought it a proper name or part of a proper name, and hence such appellations as Snuke, Sunke and Snake, are found applied to Matantuck by the early writers.

Matantuck was an Indian princess, sister of Ninigret and Wepitamock, and daughter of one of the early Niantic sachems, possibly Sasious. Her mother was sister of Canon-

icus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts. She was probably born in the first decade of the seventeenth century and was married to her cousin Mixanno, son of Canonicus. They had two sons Kascuttup, and Quequaquenuit, and a daughter Quinimiquit.

Upon the death of Canonicus in 1647, Mixanno succeeded him as one of the two Chief Sachems of the Narragansetts and so Matantuck became a queen. Mixanno died between 1656 and 1659 leaving Matantuck a widow with three children. Her two sons, Kascuttup, often called Scuttup, Sachem of Bassokutoquage, and Quequaquenuit alias Wequaquenuit, who was called Gideon by the English, succeeded jointly to their father's inheritance of the sachemdom of the Narragansetts and henceforth for some time there were four Chief Sachems of the Narragansetts, Miantonomi's two brothers sharing the power with Mixanno's two sons. Quequaquenuit seems to have died before 1664 and Scuttup and Quinimiquit died between 1664 and 1668, leaving the rights to the sachemdom to their mother. Matantuck, now usually called Quaiapen, or the Old Queen, became one of the Chief Sachems of the Narragansetts and continued the rest of her life to share the royal power with the other Narragansett chieftains.

It seems probably that soon after their marriage, and even before the death of Canonicus in 1647, Mixanno and Matantuck took up their residence near what is now Queen's Fort. Whether they occupied a previously existing Indian village, which seems probable, or whether they founded the village, that was burned in 1675, will doubtless never be known.

Roger Williams, writing on October 9, 1650, and referring to an Indian village which was probably located at this place, said: Captain Atherton "requested me presently to travel to the Sachems, met together in mourning for Wepi-teammock's dead son within in three or four miles of my house". Williams' trading post was near Cocumcussoc and

so located within four miles of Queen's Fort. Wepitamock was brother of Matantuck, so it would be quite natural for Wepitamock's son to visit the village ruled over by his aunt and uncle.

At the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675 three envoys were sent from Boston to try to induce the Narragansetts to remain neutral in the coming struggle. The envoys reached Providence on June 22 and asked Roger Williams to assist them in their mission. Messengers were sent to the chief Narragansett sachems asking them to meet the envoys for a conference at Richard Smith's trading post at Cocumcussoc. Williams wrote of this: "They being uncivil and barbarous, and the old Queen especially timorous, we condescended to meet them all near the Great Pond, at least ten miles from Mr. Smith's home." The result of the conference was a verbal treaty of neutrality.

Philip, seeking to counteract the efforts of the English envoys sent the heads of three slain Englishmen to Pessicus as a present, but he refused to receive them. However, the Old Queen, who had no love for the English, "rewarded the bringers for their travel" to quote a contemporary writer.

Two weeks after the Great Swamp Fight, or to be exact, on January 4, two of the Narragansett sachems, presumably Canonicus and Matantuck, now usually called Quaiapen, sent peace messengers to the English, but without success.

Towards the end of the war, the Old Queen Matantuck was still holding out with a few followers concealed somewhere in the wilderness.

On July 2, 1676 she and her followers were surprised in a swamp near Nipsachuck by an English force under Major Talcott. The English cavalymen, assisted by their Indian allies, fell upon the Narragansetts and killed all the warriors who were defending the swamp. The victors then rushed into the swamp, killing and capturing the rest. One hundred and seventy-one Indians were killed or captured.

Among those killed in battle was the old squaw sachem, Matantuck alias Magnus.

She is described by William Harris in August 1676 as "a great woman, yea, the greatest that ther was the sd woman called the old Queene". On the other hand, Major Talcott called her "that ould peice of venum, Sucksquaw Magnus".

This fight of July 2, is often confused with the fight of July 3, in which Major Talcott defeated another band of Indians near Warwick Neck.

Potter (2d edit. p. 407) records the tradition that Queen's Island, now usually called Rabbit Island, in Wickford Harbor was one of the residences of "an old Indian Queen before the great war", that is before King Philip's War. The "Old Queen" was Matantuck of Queen's Fort.

Sidney S. Rider in his book on Indian lands (p. 242) suggests that an Indian called *Stone Wall John* was the constructor of Queen's Fort "because the contemporary English writers have said that he, and he alone, of all the Indians, could do such things; and they have described no other Indian possessed of such talent". This theory of Mr. Rider is supported by two facts; that Stone-Wall John lived in this district and that he built forts for the Indians. The anonymous author of *A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England being a continued account of the Bloody Indian War*, which was published in 1676, wrote "An arch villain of their Party, that had been with them at the sacking of Providence, famously known by the name of *Stone-Wall* or *Stone-Layer John*, for that being an active and ingenious fellow, he had learnt the Mason's Trade, and was of great use to the *Indians* in building their Forts, &c". This contemporary evidence that the Indians had stone forts is of great historical importance. Hubbard relates that on December 15 "an Indian called *Stone-Wall John*", came to Richard Smith's, pretending to come from the Sachims, intimating their Willingness to have Peace with the English" and Captain Oliver in his letter dated at

"Narragansett 26th, 11th, 1675 (that is January 26, 1675/6) wrote:³ "Dec. 15th came in John, a rogue, with pretence of peace".

STONY FORT

About six miles south of Queen's Fort near the South Kingstown line is another Indian fort, usually known by the name of Stony Fort. It, like Queen's Fort, may have been the handiwork of *Stone-Wall John*. Very little is known about Stony Fort. It was mentioned in the layout of a highway written about 1703 (Potter p. 224) and also in the deed from Anthony Low to Jeffrey Champlin dated November 30, 1685. (North Kingstown Deeds 2, 179). These Indian forts were rather citadels of refuge in case of attack, than forts built for the purpose of commanding a strategic position. In this sense these Indian forts are more analogous to the English garrison houses or block houses, than to commanding military fortifications. Queen's Fort may have been so used as a place of refuge at the time of the attack on the Queen's village of wigwams. Mr. William B. Goodwin of Hartford, an authority on Indian affairs, suggests that the bastions on Queen's Fort may have been made in imitation of the bastions on Fort Ninigret which he considers to have been built by the Dutch. The bastion was not a natural idea for the Indian, but one adopted from European civilization.

VARIOUS STORIES

Historic spots seem to have a penchant for giving rise to various vague stories and traditions, and Queen's Fort has been no exception. Sidney S. Rider (p. 243) sought to identify Queen's Fort as the fort where in 1662 an Indian

³Bodge. See ante.

Sachem, called Shumatucke, hid some horses which he stole from Thomas Minor of Southertown on the Pawcatuck River. He suggested without proof that Shumatucke or Shawattock, as he is also called, was sachem of a tribe of Indians called the Showatucks or Wunnashowattuckoogs, and that this tribe lived on the Showatucquere River near Wickford. This theory of Mr. Rider is completely refuted by Roger Williams' letters wherein (Narra. Club VI, 28, 38, et als) Williams definitely states that the Wunnashowattuckoogs were "further Neepmucks", who lived near the corner of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, far northwest of the Narragansetts, and many miles northwest of Wickford.

This theory of Rider, gave rise to a garbled story to the effect that Queen's Fort had been built by horse thieves.

The Narragansett Historical Register⁴ for 1882 contains an anonymous account of Queen's Fort in which it is called *Wilkes Fort*. The article reads: "WILKES FORT. —This used to be a halting place for the Nipmuc Indians. They and the Shore Indians usually had difficulty in the spring about the fish. They partly fortified their place, and after their day a band of outlaws added immensely to the work, and lived there in open defiance of the law a number of years. Its last inhabitant was William Reynolds, an insane man who lived at the northeast corner of the fortress for several years, and until his friends removed him to a better location. At this place there is a natural curiosity known as the "Queen's Bed Chamber". This was used by Queen Bess, the last princess who lived here. It was expected the Indians would be found during that celebrated march to the Great Swamp, in December, in Philip's time. A lot of buried corn was found and evidence that the Indians had recently been there."

Queen Bess seems to be entirely a mythical person as far

⁴Vol. I, p. 9.

as the Narragansett Indians are concerned, unless the writer of this rather untrustworthy story had Matantuck, the Old Queen, in mind.

Five years later in 1889 Cole, in his *History of Washington and Kent Counties* (p. 663) referred to the fort as "the ruins of Wilkey Fort (an old Indian fort)", and later in the same article called it *Queen's Fort*. He stated that "William Reynolds resided here some forty or fifty years". In his description of Queen's Fort, Cole wrote, "The wall runs east and west, and at either corner were once stone huts, probably the residence of some Indian chief." Cole mistook the bastions for the foundations of huts. There is no evidence that the bastions ever had roofs. In recounting its Indian history, Cole wrote: "In a small valley just west of the wall is a unique collection of stones forming a natural cavern, in which it is said Maquus, the squaw sachem, once resided, but the chamber is now nearly filled with rubbish.

"A little to the west of this once enticing retreat for the savage heroine is a sand bank where the soldiers on their celebrated march from Richard Smith's house toward the big swamp halted, expecting to find a body of Indians whom they intended to attack. But upon reaching this place the soldiers found that the Indians had returned to their fortress, leaving them only a quantity of corn, which was safely secured".

Maquus is evidently a misspelling of Magnus, which itself is thought to have been a corruption of Matantuck. The latter part of Cole's account clearly refers to the second expedition of Captain Prentice, which has already been narrated.

The natural cavern or chamber is what is usually called the Queen's bed-chamber. This Queen's bed chamber, though well known in the early part of the nineteenth century, has been lost for many years. In 1865 Mr. Hammond, on his Plan of Queen's Fort erroneously identified the east bastion as the Queen's bed-chamber and added as



ENTRANCE TO A CAVE NEAR QUEEN'S FORT.

This cave is identified by local residents as the traditional
Queen's Bed Chamber.

Courtesy of the Providence Journal

his personal opinion that the walls of this bastion or chamber were of recent construction.

Rider wrote in regard to the Queen's Chamber, as he called it: "This extraordinary chamber is not within the Fort, but outside, west, and distant perhaps a hundred feet. It consists of an open space beneath an immense mass of boulder rocks; the tallest man can stand within it; the floor is fine white sand; the entrance is so hidden that six feet away it would never be suspected; the boulders piled about it represent a thickness of fifty or sixty feet. Such is my rough description of the Queen's Chamber". The boulders over the Queen's bed chamber are shown, though not so identified, in the Hammond plan. Rider published a very rough plan of Queen's Fort which does not show the Queen's Chamber boulders.

A SERIES OF INDIAN FORTS

Queen's Fort seems to have been one of a long series of Indian forts. Six miles south of it is Stony Fort, which has already been mentioned. Three miles southwest of Stony Fort, on the east bank of the Chipuxet River, north of Larkin Pond, the remains of an Indian fort are shown on the Rhode Island Atlas of 1895. This Atlas also shows the remains of another Indian fort, some three miles to the westward, on the northwest side of the Great Swamp, just east of the Usquepaug River. There certainly was an Indian fort on the Island in the Great Swamp which served as the point of attack in the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675. This fort is described as follows by the printed chronicle of 1676, "the Indians had built a kind of Fort, being Palisado's round and within that a clay Wall, as also felled down abundance of Trees to lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said work", and Hubbard wrote of it: "The Fort was raised upon a kind of Island of five or six Acres of rising Land in the midst of a Swamp; the sides of it were made of Palisadoes

set upright, the which was compassed about with an Hedge of almost a rod thickness”

About seven miles south of the Island in the Great Swamp lies what is called Fort Ninigret. It is a rectangular fort located on the crest of a promontory whose sharp sides descend to the waters of Ninigret Pond (formerly Charlestown Pond). The fort consists of a wall made of stones and earth, the outer covering of earth almost concealing the stones. Outside of the wall is a trough or moat. The fort is rectangular, almost square, and at three corners it has bastions. There is no bastion at the southwest corner. From the land side the fort is approached from the north over a flat plain.

This seems very probably to have been the fort mentioned by Captain John Mason in his account of the Pequot War in 1637. After telling about their landing on the shore of Narragansett Bay, Mason continued: “we marched from thence to a place called Nayanticke, it being about eighteen or twenty miles distant, where another of those Narragansett Sachems lived in a fort; it being a Frontier to the Pequots.” The distance in a direct line from Saunderstown on Narragansett Bay near where the English probably landed to Fort Ninigret is about fifteen miles, but following the Indian trails, as Mason went, the distance would be at least seventeen or eighteen miles. Mason gives the distance from this fort to the Pawcatuck River as “about twelve miles”. In a straight line the distance is about ten miles and by the Indian trails would be about twelve miles, as Mason said. This would seem to establish the existence of Fort Ninigret as early as 1637.

The fort, as laid out geometrically, clearly shows the influence of European civilization. It must have been built either by Europeans or by Indians working under direction of a European. In either case it would seem that the European influence must have been Dutch rather than English, for the bulk of the export trade of the Narragansett Indians before 1637 had been with the Dutch. Dutch

traders had been frequent visitors to the Narragansett shores. Mason applied the name *Nayanticke* to this fort and Pessicus' deed of 1661 locates the *Niantick* lands as east of *Weekapaug*. (R. I. H. S. C. III, 246.) Also see Wait Winthrop's letter, 1675, printed by Soc. of Col. Wars in R. I. 1919.

Just before Mason's expedition Roger Williams drew a rough diagrammatic representation of the district for the use of the army. The original of this diagram is lost, but a copy of it, made in 1825 locates "*Nayantaquit* where is *Wepiteammock* and our friends" as on the west side of a river, apparently intended for the *Pawcatuck* River and between it and the river at *Mystic*. Of course in the copy the location of *Nayantaquit* may have been placed on the wrong side of the river, or it may even have been misplaced on the original sketch, for Roger Williams made the map from the reports of friendly Indians, not from personal observations. Roger Williams suggested at this time that "*Nayantaquit*, which is *Miantunnomue*'s place of rendezvous, be thought on for the riding place and retiring to of vessel or vessels, which place is faithful to the *Nanhiggonticks* (*Narragansetts*) and at present enmity with the *Pequots*". This would seem to indicate *Nayantaquit* as on the *Pawcatuck* River, unless the river was intended to represent *Charlestown Inlet* and the brook at *Cross Mills*.

Potter⁵ commenting on this fort wrote: "The English evidently did not build it, for it was there very early, nor would they have taught the Indians to build it".

Writing in 1858 Samuel G. Arnold (I, 155) stated that the Dutch had two fortified trading posts on the south shore of *Narragansett*, in what is now *Charlestown*. Arnold does not locate them, but Rider in 1903 stated that these forts were *Fort Ninigret* and a fort at *Chemunganock*.

⁵R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. III, 2d Edit., p. 342.

Also Cf. R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. XIV, 1.

The remains of the fort at Chemunganock (Shumuncanuc Hill) are described as earthworks about sixty yards square, without bastions, and are located as on the land of the late George N. Crandall.⁶

Denison in 1878 confused Wepitamock with Ninigret and stated that Ninigret was in command of this fort in 1637, thus leading to the application of the name Fort Ninigret to the fort in 1883 at the dedication of the memorial boulder.

Mr. William B. Goodwin believes that Dutch traders may have built Fort Ninigret after 1627 and that it is the fort referred to in some documents which he has found in Europe.

There is the remains of another Indian fort in Rhode Island, Pomham's Fort on the west side of Warwick Neck, which was built for him by the Massachusetts Bay authorities in 1644. It has been appropriately marked by the Rhode Island Historical Society and an account of this fort appears in the January 1918 issue of the Society's *Collections*. The ruins now consist of low earthworks. It originally contained a "strong house of pallizado".

H. M. C.

⁶*The Day*, New London, Aug. 7, 1931.

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Joshua M. Addeman	Mr. Clinton F. Stevens
Mr. William H. Peck	Mr. Charles Shepard
Mr. Edward H. West	

Mrs. Joshua M. Addeman presented to the Society a collection of manuscripts and pamphlets relating to Rhode Island gathered by her late husband, and also a blue and gray china pitcher which was found in an Indian grave at Fort Neck, Charlestown, R. I. This grave was opened in 1878 in the presence of Mr. Addeman.

In volume one of the Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts (page 17) is a document in the handwriting of William Harris, on the back of which he made the following notation: "This the copy of tht for which I was Imprisoned & tryed for my life". The original is in the Connecticut State Archives and is printed in the Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, X, 104-118.

BEQUEST

Mr. John F. Street of Pawtucket, for many years a member of the Society, died on June 29, 1931. He left a bequest of \$1,000 to the Society.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Providence Illustrated Guide, a Handbook for Residents and Visitors, by John Williams Haley. Providence, 1931, 143 pages, illustrated.

Antiques for September, 1931, p. 176, contains an article on silver and latten spoons found during excavations in Rhode Island. The maker's marks on the seventeenth century spoons are described in detail.

CAPTAIN OWEN'S NARRATIVE (*Continued from p. 129*)

1767

At Providence, Captain Owen was invited to "an elegant supper and ball," where, to quote his own words, "the one and twenty girls that danced (who were from the age of fifteen to eighteen, and not one exceeding twenty years) were all so exquisitely handsome—so divinely fair, that, had they been in the Seraglio at Constantinople, the Grand-Signior would have been puzzled which he should drop the handkerchief to:— I never beheld a group of more angelic creatures—so much sweetness and elegance, blended with pure innocence and simplicity". (From *New York Public Library Bulletin* for May, 1931.)

THE GULF STREAM

About 1770, complaint was made to the London officials that the English packets which came to New York took about two weeks longer in crossing than did the Rhode Island merchant ships which put in at Narragansett Bay ports. Benjamin Franklin, being in London at the time, was consulted about the matter. To quote his own words:

"It appearing strange to me that there should be such a difference between two places, scarce a day's run asunder I could not but think the fact misunderstood or mis-

represented. There happened then to be in London a Nantucket sea captain of my acquaintance, to whom I communicated the affair. He told me he believed the fact might be true, but the difference was owing to this, that the Rhode Island captains were acquainted with the Gulf Stream, which those of the English packets were not When the winds are but light, he added, they are carried back by the current more than they are forwarded by the wind I then observed that it was a pity no notice was taken of the current upon the charts, and requested him to mark it out for me, which he readily complied with, adding directions for avoiding it in sailing from Europe to North America". (Extract from a letter from Benjamin Franklin to Alphonse le Roy of Paris. See *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* II, 314.) From *The Gulf Stream and Its Problems* by H. A. Marmar. Smithsonian Rept. 1929, p. 286.

WEUNQUESH

That Weunquesh was living as late as April, 1685, and at that time was married, is proved by an item in the records of the Westconnaug Proprietors, a copy of which was recently presented to the Rhode Island Historical Society by Mr. Theodore G. Foster of Lansing, Michigan.

The item is the record of a charge made by John Fones for expenses: April 20, 1685 to going to Squomakuck to treat with the Indian Queen and her husband and others about the Purchase. Four days with my expences on that Journey 0.14.6. To 4 yards of Duffil given per order of the Trustees to the Indian Queen and her husband 20/1.0.0."

The Indian Queen at this time was Weunquesh. Very little, indeed, is known about her, so that every scrap of new data is of importance. The few references to her may be found in:

R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. III, 99; and XX, 14, containing references to other articles relating to her.

Sachems of the Narragansetts, published by the R. I. Hist. Soc. 1931, pp. 91-93, 104-108 and 111.

Rider's Book Notes, XXIX, 17 and 28.

Narra. Hist. Reg. VII, 35, containing a reprint of her petition of 1680.

R. I. Col. Rec. III, 68.

Conn. Col. Rec. III, 103.

Copy of a Letter to the Stage Actors (1794)

Being informed, that you have in contemplation the acting of Plays in this Town, notwithstanding the Law of the State, and the Resolution of the Town manifesting their disapprobation thereof. We have thought best to assure you, that we cannot consistant with our Idea of good Citizen-ship suffer the Law of the State to be violated with Impunity, after the resolution of the Town expressly taken on the subject. And therefore take this method of requesting you, to forbear any transaction which may lay you liable to the penalty of the Law in that case made and provided. We hope you will consider this not as a threat, but a friendly caution, and assurance of our conclusion to see the Law executed after deliberate consideration on the subject.

Nicholas Brown	Charles Holden
George Benson	John Pitman
Jona P. Jones	Isaac Pitman
Joseph Fuller	Moses Brown
Bazzillai Richmond	Saml Thurber Jur.
Wm. Richmond	Zephaniah Andrews
Caleb Wheaton	J. W. Coy
Tom Hill	Saml Proud
Edwd Thurber	Phineas Potter
Sylvanus Martin	Seth Wheaton
Timothy Shelden	E Brown
Wheeler Martin	Stephen Randall
Joshua Lindsey	Thomas Arnold
Aaron Wright	Edwd Knowles
Sand Pitman	Wm. Holroyd

This manuscript (R. I. H. S. Ms. XVI, 145) was found in the Almy and Brown Papers among letters and accounts dated 1794. It gives us a list of those who opposed theatrical performances and attempted to block the development of the theatre in Providence.

References to the early development of the theatre in Rhode Island will be found in *An Historical Account of the Providence Stage, being a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society* by Charles Blake, Providence, 1860; *History of the Providence Stage* by George O. Willard, Providence, 1891; *Early College Performances of Otway in Providence* by Harold Karl Halpert in *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, April 1930; *The Colonial Theatre in New England*, by Professor B. W. Brown, in *Special Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society*, July 1930; Book Notes, XXIII, 142; and *Rhode Island Historical Society Publications*, 1898, VI, 141, 189 and 228.

Port of Providence Clearance Book, 1789

Communicated by

MR. T. G. FOSTER, of Lansing, Mich.

A BOOK FOR CLEARANCES of vessels, cargoes, etc. exported from the Port of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations begun on Saturday, the twentieth day of June AD 1789 from which day, Theodore Foster of said Providence was appointed Intendant of Trade for the said Port of Providence by Letter of Surrogation under his Excellency's Sign Manuel of that date.

1. A D 1789 June 20, Sloop Hancock, James Noyce Brown, master, 18 tons, 4 men, owned by James Manning & James N. Brown. Bound for New York. 23 Tons Pig Iron, 8 Hogsheads Stone Lime, 8 Barrels Sugar.

2. June 23, Sloop Ant, Daniel Bucklin, Jun. master, 22 tons, 5 men, owned by Clarke & Nightengale. Bound for State of Delaware. 4 Casks N. E. Rum 27 Bbls Ditto 3 Casks Mol--- 2 Hogsheads & 10 Casks Geneva of American Manufacture 360 yards of Tow Cloth 3m Bricks 1000# Flax 300# Cheese 50# Bokea Tea 5 Firkins of Butter Invoice of Iron & Crockery Ware 2 Doz Pair Cotton Cards 6t of Cod fish 6 Boxes Chocolate 12 Pairs of Men's Leather Shoes 1 doz. Women's Shoes 2½ Doz Felt Hats 2 Saddles 2 Doz Pails 1 Barrel Fish Oil 1 Barrel of Gurry.
3. June 24, Sloop Joanna, Micheal Anthony, Master, 15 tons, 3 men, for New York. 10 Hogsheads of Molasses 8 Do Stone Lime 5 Casks Nails 2 Ditto Salt 12 Bundles Papers 3 Ditto Leather 2 Barrels Pickled Codfish 34# Indigo 1 Cask Sugar A Quantity of Country Produce Some Household Furniture 2 Doz Iron Shovels.
4. June 26, Schooner Sally, Joseph Rhodes, master, 60 tons, 5 men, for Virginia. 60 Hogsheads of Lime.
5. June 26, Sloop Barnstable Packet, David Scudder, master, 25 tons, 3 men, for Barnstable. 45t Cotton 10 Barrels Salt 10 m Nails 16t Sugar 10m Shingles 1m Boards.
6. June 27, Sloop Lively, Isaac Manchester, master, 25 tons, 5 men, for Virginia. 3 Hogsheads of Molasses 6 Hhs and 3 Barrels Rum and 80 Bushels of Salt
7. June 27, Sloop Packet, Payne Elwell, master, 39 tons, 4 men, for North Yarmouth. 1 Cask Rice 1 Cask Tobacco 1 Chest Tea 200 t Loose Tea 100t Coffee 2 Barrels Sugar 300t Cotton 1 Barrel New England Rum
8. June 29, Sloop Lark Sydney, John Tillinghast, master, 60 tons, 6 men for Virginia. 50 Hogsheads of Stone Lime 3 Hhs Sugar 15 Bbl Ditto

9. June 30, Sloop Betsey, Nathan W. Jackson, master, 30 tons, 5 men, for Alexandria. 60 Hogsheads Stone Lime 25 Kegs Salmon 30 Barrels Herring 5 Barrels Beef 250 Yards Tow Cloth 24 Yards Shirting Checks 7 Boxes Chocolate 2 of Cod fish 324# Flax 2 Barrels Potatoes 100# Sole Leather 5 Dozen Walking Sticks 8 Boxes Spermaceti Candles 3 Ferkins of Butter 10 Barrels of Pork 40 Pair Womens Cloth Shoes 30 Pair Mens Leather Shoes 6 Hundred Weight of Cheese 8 Bbls Cyder 3 Boxes Tallow Candles 4 Barrels of Mackerel 2 Reams Wrapping Paper 7 Reams Writing Paper
The above being the Produce & Manufacture of the State—2 Barrels of New England Rum 3 Barrels of Sugar.
10. July 1, Schooner Dean, William Bullock, master, 30 tons, 5 men, 1 Hogshead of Molasses 1 Barrel Sugar 1 Barrel N. E. Rum 2 Barrels of Pork 12 Ditto Flour—Bread 50 Bushels of Salt 20 Pair Mens Shoes 100 Yards of Tow and Flannel Cloth.
11. July 1, Schooner Sally, Joseph Merrick, master, 37 tons, 3 men, for Bay of Fundy. 27 Barrels of Salt 5 Barrels of Flour 60 Sheep with Hay Stores, etc.

Data relating to early Rhode Island shipping will be found in *The Letter Book of Peleg Sanford* and *The Letter Book of James Broxne*, both of which were published by the Rhode Island Historical Society; in *Commerce of Rhode Island* which are volumes 69 and 70 of the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections; and in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* XIV, 99 and 125; XVI, 84; XXIII, 76 and XXIV, 73.

Captain John Rous, R. N.

John Rous, who is regarded by many as the ablest American naval commander of the colonial period, has generally been considered a Massachusetts man, but the Rous family papers, recently presented to the Society by Captain G. Andrews Moriarty, Jr., F. S. A., prove that for many years Rous was a resident of Newport, Rhode Island, and that his chief connection with Massachusetts was that he commanded vessels owned in Massachusetts.

John Rous, or Rouse as the name was originally spelled, was born at St. Pierre Port in the Island of Guernsey on January 28, 1699, and was baptized on the eighth of February. He was the son of Captain Denis Rouse and his wife, Sarah Turner.

A copy of the baptismal record, made on parchment in 1717, preserves the quaint old French of the record of the baptism, as it was entered in the parish records of the little Channel Island church:

“Extrait des Registres des Baptemes administrez En la Paroisse de St Pierre Port en L’Isle de Guernsey

“Jean fils du Capitaine Denis Rouse et de Sara Turner sa feme dont Les Srs Jean et Robert Renouf ont esté pareins et Dlle Marie Renouf mareine, Le dit Jean né Le Jeudy 28^e de Janvier 1699-1700 et battizé Le Jeudy 8^e de Feuburier en suivant”.

John’s father, Denis Rouse, was a captain, presumably a sea captain, and as the Channel Islands have for centuries been famous for the mariners which they have produced, it is not surprising that John took to the sea and followed the profession of his father, from whom he doubtless acquired his nautical training as well as his love of the sea.

As might be expected, we have no records of his childhood and youth, but we may picture him as playing around the harbor of St. Pierre, rowing and sailing small boats and

watching and visiting the larger sea-going vessels that sailed from this port.

He followed the sea, and the next record we have of him is after he had crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

John Rous appeared in Newport as early as 1725, where on January 2 he was married to Jean Rucketts. In the record of Trinity Church his name is spelled Rouse and her name is given as Jean, doubtless an attempt to spell Jeanne. As Rucketts is not a Newport name, and as both her given and family name have a certain French suggestion, it seems quite possible that she may have been a Channel Island girl, perhaps a childhood friend and playmate of John Rous. They had at least two children, Jane and Sarah, named for the mother and grandmother respectively.

John Rous seems to have been an apt pupil in his father's profession. As might be expected, records of him in the twenties and thirties are hard to find. Yet we may be sure that he rose gradually in his chosen vocation of merchant marine sailor and underwent the rough training and hazardous experiences of the early eighteenth century mariners. The hot weather of the tropics, the biting cold of the North Atlantic winter, storms, unseaworthy crafts, bad food, and doubtless occasional shortages of food and water, fell to his lot as to most of the seamen of the period.

The next record of him appears to be the following receipt:

“November the 6th 1734 Recd of John Rouse Master of the Sloop Speedwell twelve pounds seven shillings 8 d for three months & five days for wages due to me for a voyage to New foundland

Elisha Rydon”

Rous spent some time as master of vessels in the West Indies trade, and in 1742 gave the following testimony in regard to the common practice of changing the names of vessels in order that the names might conform to the ship's papers.

He deposed, "Years ago I was in Curacao and had a sea brief limited for six months and during that time I was master of three different vessels and used the same sea brief for them all, calling them successively by the same name. The vessels above mentioned were of the burthen of about eight, nine and twelve tons, the two first of which vessels belonged to Dutchmen, as I understood, and the other was owned by a Frenchman as I took it and was hired by the above Dutchman and afterwards, I believe, was returned to the Frenchmen again. They all sailed from Curacao to the Island of Canco and back again to Curacao."

Upon the outbreak of the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739, John Jones of Boston, who later in the year was associated in a privateering venture with George Wanton of Newport, fitted out the privateer *Young Eagle*, a bilander of 100 tons, carrying 12 carriage guns and 18 swivel guns. The command of this vessel was given to Capt. Philip Dumaresq, who received his commission on August 24. John Rous signed up as first lieutenant. Why Rous shipped on the *Young Eagle* is not definitely known, for he may have been drawn to this ship for two very different reasons. Rous was a Newport skipper and so must have been acquainted with George Wanton, one of Newport's leading shipowners, and indeed he may have previously sailed in command of some of Wanton's vessels. It is quite possible, therefore, that it may have been through Wanton and Jones that Rous became interested in this venture. On the other hand, both Rous and Dumaresq were natives of the Channel Island and this may have been the bond that drew them together and that induced Rous to turn from the merchant marine to privateering.

Rous' entrance into naval service, or what perhaps, strictly speaking, should more properly be called privateering, was almost immediately encompassed in the excitement of an incipient mutiny, an omen or harbinger of what privateering was to mean to him.

A detailed account of Rous' service on the privateer

Young Eagle, and his capture of the Amsterdam Post, will be found in Chapin's *Privateering in King George's War* (pages 7-12).

In February, 1739-40, Captain Dumaresq ordered Lieutenant Rous to take the prize sloop Beginning to Gibraltar, so Rous, with a prize crew of ten men, sailed from Madeira. D'wize, one of this prize crew, said that he overheard Rous, Gabrielshundh and Hall plot to scuttle the ship rather than go to Gibraltar, and there were rumors on foot that there was a plot to run away with the Young Eagle. Rous was reported to have said that they would all be hanged at Cadiz if taken by the Spaniards, because goods had been taken out of uncondemned prizes. Some of the reports may have been exaggerated by ex-parte accounts, but be that as it may, Rous and the prize returned to Madeira the next day. At some point in the excitement, Rous kicked chief mate Loud in the face, and it was further reported that Rous, when lieutenant in command of the Young Eagle, said he "would stretch his commission as far as it would go, but New England should never have the honour of seeing him hanged." Rous was imprisoned at Madeira for nine days, and then on March 6, 1739/40, released to enlist as master's mate on H. M. S. Ruby, on which he served until April 21, 1740. The naval officers and others testified to Rous' good behavior, and stated that Captain Dumaresq confronted him with no serious charges. Joseph Rous, his brother, also served on the Ruby at this time. Some two years later, when Rous became captain of the Young Eagle and was beating up for volunteers in Boston, a complaint was entered that Loud followed the drummer in a riotous manner, cursing and abusing Rous.

John Rous returned to America and again took up the profession of a captain in the merchant marine. He commanded the sloop Sarah, which sailed from Newport on July 28, 1740, bound for Maryland.

Rous doubtless had no more trouble on his various sea voyages than usually fell to the lot of the average mariner,

but, owing to the fact that several depositions have been preserved, we are able to get a few intimate side-lights on his personality and experiences.

“The Examination of Thomas Birt Aged aboute twenty years being first Sworn on the holy Evengels of almighty God Deposeth and Saith that aboute the 28th day of July anno Dom. 1740. he this Deponant Sailed from Rhode Island with Capt. John Rouse in his Sloop called the Sarah, Togeather with Severall others Belonging to the Said Vessell, Particularly a Certain Trustom Coffin whome this Deponant Understood was Shipt Mate of the Said Sloop and bound for Maryland, and that on the Fryday following the Said Thrustom Coffin went up to the Maste head of Said Vessell and Stay'd there aboute halph an hour, and when he came Down upon Deck, he said Coffin Used Severall words in this Mannor throwing his hatt down upon the Said Deck, Saying Capt. Rouse there is two Spanards Seeing two Sloops, to wind ward and that he should be Master of the Smallest of them, and that they Should go into the Capes Togeather Meaning the Capes of Virginia and aboute two days after, this Deponent arrived within the Said Capes, the said Coffin Saw a Small Tobacco Sloop, where upon the Said Coffin Said that Sloop was a whailer whereupon Capt. John Rouse Replied and told the said Coffin that it was no such thing and that he was a Blockhead in Saying so and Said it was a Tobacco Droger, which the said Coffin Insisted and Said it was a Whailor, Showing the Said Rouse how the Boate which was at the Starne of the Said Tobacco Sloop had its Motion Like a whailor, then the Said Capt Rouse ordered the Said Coffin to go into the hole of the Said Sloop which the Said Coffin Refused, and the Said Rouse thereup took up a pump brake threatning him that he would Strick him, but this Deponant Declareth that the Said Rouse Never Strock the Said Coffin with Said pump brake but Laid it down againe, where upon the Said Capt Rouse Insisted to Secure him, that the said Coffin should not do any Damage, Raveing Like a madman, and

that amediatly Stript of his Cloaths and Strook the said Capt. Rouse Severall Times, whereupon the said Capt. Rouse and a Certaine Benjamin Rickels also Edward Caine, assisted in Securing the Said Coffin and Tyed his hands behind him and put him into the hole of Said Vessell, being Tyed with the Lead Line, he the said Coffin Complaining that the Line hurt him whereupon Capt. Rouse ordered a point to be got to pinion him and Accordingly the said Rouse tyed the Said Coffin with the said point then the Said Coffin Replied he could not go down into the hole of Said Vessell the said Rouse told him he would assist him down in the hole, and accordingly went down to assist him, he the said Coffin Refused to have any assitance from the Said Rouse, but took hold of a Rope and went down thereby and Stood in the hole of Said Vessell, and the Said Coffin Uesed Strange Surprizeng words, More Like a mad man then a man in his Sence's Saying the Lord have Mercy upon us, John Rouse wants to take my Life, but Blood for Blood and Life for Life I will have Revenge If I Live, being at an anchor in the Said Bay at New point Comfort this Deponant Declareth that the Said Capt. Rouse Said, wee want fresh provisions, wee will go ashore and git Som whereupon the Boate was hoisted from on board the said Sloop and the Said Capt. Rouse Together with Benjamin Rickels and Edward Caine went a Shore, Leaving the Said Trustom Coffin, and this Deponant on Board of the Said Sloop, when the Said Capt. Rouse with his two men afd had got a Considerable Distance from the said Sloop in ord. to go a Shore, the said Trustom Coffin Called to Thomas Birt this Deponant that he was Hungry whereupon this Deponant Carryed him Some Vickles, the Said Coffin Jumpt upon the said Deck Saying Soha. this Deponant askt him the said Coffin what he was agoing to do, he Replied he was going to Swim on Board of yonder Sloop which was aboute a mile & a halph from the Said Vessell the Deponant was onboard of Calling the said Sloop a Whailor, which this Deponant took to be a Tobacco Droger whereupon this

Depont went into the Cabbin and got one of the Collors of Said Sloop, to make a Signall that Capt. Rouse might see, that he might Returne to the said Sloop and Secure the said Coffin, but seeing of it, the said Capt. Rouse told this Depont when he came on board, that he thought it was Cloaths hung up to Drye and did not then Returne, then the said Coffin went over the Side of the Said Vessell and Hung by his hands at the Chains, to feele whether the water was Cold, whereupon he told this Deponant that the water was Cold, and came on board Againe, and put on him a thick pair of Britches, and a Brown Holland Jacket and a Straw hatt, with a pair of Silver Shoe Buckles and knee Buckles tyed with a String Round his Neck with out any Shoos or Stockins or Cap. then went upon the Quarter Deck and got a knife awhestone and wheted his knife a Considerable time, telling this Deponant that if he Hoisted the Jack or Collers any more and that the Boate came on Board, that he would amediatly go on Board the Sloop, this Deponant Replied to the said Coffin that if he should go from on Board, that he this Deponant should be Blaimed, whereupon the said Coffin Replied that there was no Danger and that he should have no Blame come to him Still this Deponant useing many prevailing words that he might not go, feareing that he would be drowned, then the said Coffin took up a wescoat from the Quarter Deck, and took out of the pocket, a pocket Book and takeing out of the said Book two peices of paper, telling this Deponant they ware Each of them three pound Notes, which this Deponant does not know that they were so. then the said Coffin Laid down the saide wescoate on the winless of the said Vessell puting his pocket Book in his wescoate againe then taking the key out of his Chest put it in his Britches pocket which he had on, then this Deponant went into the Cabbin, Leaving the said Coffin up on Deck, the said Coffin Called to this Deponant asking him if he would not See him go overboard, this Deponant Replying no, and Looking out at the Cabbin door upon Deck and not Seeing the said Coffin, amagined he was gone, whereupon

this Deponant went upon Deck and Looking over the side of the said Vessell, Saw the Said Coffin in the water Swimming, being Dusk or Late in the Evening, Could Scarce See him, but thought he was Endeavouring to Swim towards the afd Sloop wth the Said Coffin threatned to Swim on board before, and amediatly Saw no more of the Said Coffin Soon after this Deponant Saith that Capt. Jno. Rouse Came on board with his boate, and men as aforsd where he brought a Lamb with him, this Deponant further Declareth that when the said Coffin was Swimming away in the water the said Coffin called to this Deponant and Bed him far well but this Deponant made no answer, and further Saith not.
Thomas Burt

“Sworne to before me the Subscriber one of his Lordship Justices of the peace for Talbot County this 4th day of october ano Dom. 1740,

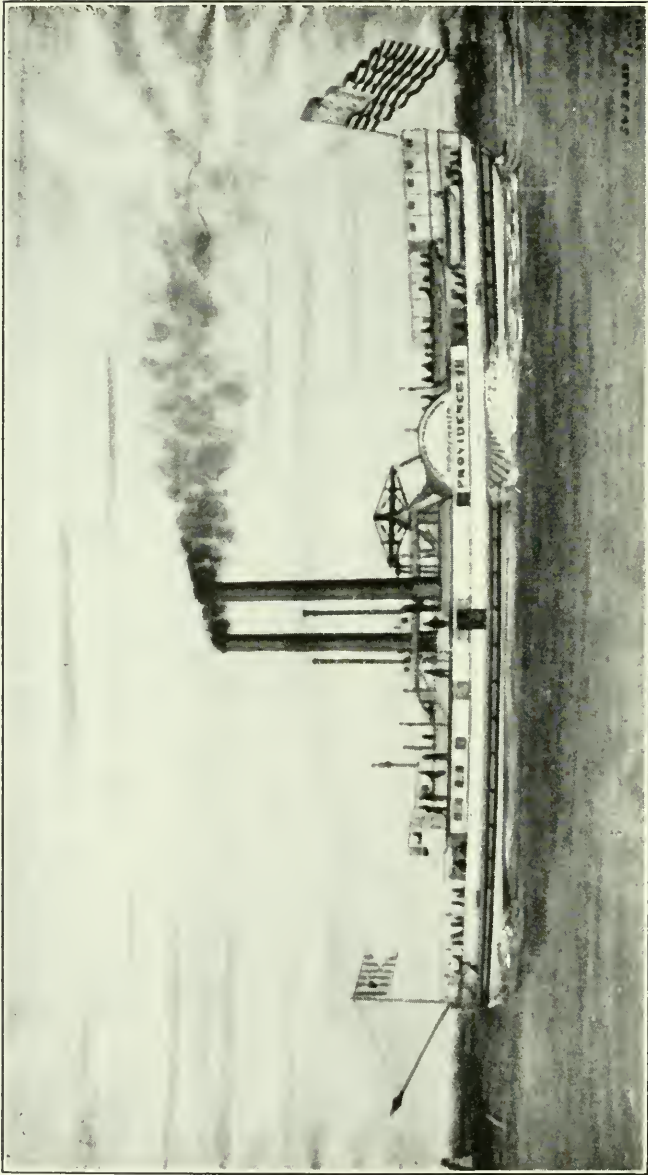
RISDENBOSMAN”

As an aftermath of the Tristom Coffin affair there is the following order, dated: “Nantucket July the 28th 1741. frind rouse be pleas to deliver my sons chist & beding to Benjamin Chase & he will pay the balance & his receart shall be your discharg

PETER COFFIN”.

On the reverse is Benj. Chase’s receipt.

Rous’ love of adventure had been aroused by this privateering experience and he could not for long resist the lure of going “a-privateering.” He soon accepted a commission as captain of the Speedwell, a privateer sloop of 80 tons which was owned by John Jones of Boston and George Wanton of Newport. It will be remembered that Jones owned the privateer Young Eagle, on which Rous had served as first lieutenant. The Speedwell was armed with eight carriage guns and fourteen swivels, and carried a crew of 80 or 90 men. Early in October, Rous beat up for volunteers, and, having signed up enough hands, sailed on



THE STEAMBOAT PROVIDENCE

*From a painting in the Richard W. Comstock, Jr.,
Memorial Collection in the Society's Museum.*

October 13, 1740. He laid his course southeastward and planned to cruise in the same waters that were already familiar to him, thanks to his service on the *Young Eagle*.*

Captain Rous began to speculate in privateer shares as early as 1741, as is shown by a receipt:

"September the 21, 1741 Recev'd of Capt. John Rousse the sum of one hundred and thirty pound being for a shear belonging to my son of the duch prize brot in by Capt. bayod I say Received by me

JOE CASWELL"

On July 20 he bought of James Russell, "one of Capt. Wimble's Company," for 100 old tenor one "whole Share Right & Proportion of the ship Angola her Cargo and Appurtenances brought into this Port of Newport aforesaid by the two Privateers Commanded by Capt. James Allen & Capt. James Wimble".

On July 23 he bought of James Russell, who described himself as "one of the Company of the Private Mann of Warr Sloop called the Revenge Commanded by Capt. James Wimble," for £15 current money of the colony one "whole share Right & Proportion of all the Prizes, Prize Goods & every thing else taken by Sd Private Man of Warr & Company & brought into Newport aforsd & Carried into New Providence".

Rous sailed in command of the *Young Eagle* on December 19, 1741, on a privateering cruise. An account of his exploits while commander of this privateer will be found in *Privateering in King George's War* (pages 18-29).

In the Louisbourg expedition of 1745, Rous was given the command of the snow *Shirley*, a galley of 24 guns, named in honor of Governor William Shirley. He sailed from King's Roads, as Nantasket was then called, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday, March 24, 1745, con-

*For an account of this cruise, see *Privateering in King George's War* (pages 33-36).

voying the fleet of 51 transports and armed sloops. George Whitefield, the evangelist, gave the expedition somewhat the aspect of a crusade, by suggesting as a motto for their flag: *Nil desperandum Christo duce*, which flag presumably was flown from the Shirley. The fleet touched at Sheepscoot, and awaited the second detachment, which sailed from Boston on the 26th. Three days later, the entire fleet, consisting of 63 sail, weighed anchors and sailed for Cape Breton. As might be expected at this season of the year, the fleet was scattered by the bad weather that was encountered on the voyage. A northeast storm raged all day on March 30, and the Shirley, with twenty vessels that had succeeded in keeping together, arrived at Canso on April 4. The French frigate *Renommée* was sighted off Canso on April 18, and the Shirley, accompanied by the sloop Massachusetts and the sloop Abigail, went in chase. On the next day, the Shirley, Captain Rous, took an important part in the battle with the *Renommée*, firing 115 shots at her during the engagement. The Shirley returned to Canso on the 21st, and General Pepperell made his headquarters on board of her until the 26th, when, in company with the Tartar, the Shirley again went in pursuit of the *Renommée*. They overtook the French vessel to the west of George's Banks and attacked her, but she, being a better sailer, easily escaped the Shirley. The latter continued westward and reached Nantasket on May 2. She sailed again in a day or two, convoying five transports, and on this voyage again fell in with the *Renommée*, which attacked one of the transports and forced her to strike her colors. The *Renommée* then left her to chase the Shirley, thus enabling the captured vessel to escape. The Shirley outsailed the *Renommée* this time, and reached Canso in safety. She sailed from Canso on the 15th, convoying her charges, and arrived at Chapeaurouge Bay the next day.

The Shirley, Captain Rous, joined in the chase of the ship *Vigilant*, 64 guns, Capt. Alexandre Boisdecourt, Marquis de la Maisonfort, at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of

May 19, and "plied her bow chasers very well" from 6 to 7 o'clock in the evening, when the *Vigilant* outdistanced her. The *Shirley* sailed for Annapolis June 2, convoying two schooners, and at Annapolis received orders to proceed to Boston. She again arrived off Louisbourg with artillery about June 25.

The *Shirley*, Captain Rous, sailed on July 6 amid the salutes of the men-of-war with despatches for England, where she arrived after a voyage of three weeks. She crossed the Atlantic in four weeks on her return voyage, and arrived at Louisbourg on September 24, bringing news of Commodore Warren's promotion to the rank of Rear Admiral. She fired fifteen guns and H. M. S. *Superb* answered with thirteen guns.

Maclay tells us that after the *Shirley*, Captain Rous, had completed her work in connection with the Louisbourg expedition, "she separated from her consorts and captured eight French vessels, two of which made a determined resistance. For this service Captain Rous received a captain's commission in the King's service." The *Boston News-Letter*, for October 10, states that Commodore Warren had by that time received orders to buy the *Shirley*, and to issue a captain's commission in the Royal Navy to Captain Rous. The *Shirley* was driven ashore in a gale at Annapolis Royal in 1746, but was floated.

John Charnock, in his *Biographia Navalis* (London, 1797, Volume V, page 412) gives the following account of Captain John Rous:

"John Rous. This gentleman was by birth an American; and having risen to the rank of lieutenant in the navy, quitted for a time his majesty's service and took the command of a private ship of war fitted out from New England. We have not been able to collect any subsequent information concerning him, except that having distinguished himself in this occupation so highly, as to attract the notice of sir Peter Warren, who in 1745, was commodore of the armament sent against Louisbourg; he was by him pro-

moted to be a commander in the navy, and, on the 24th of September, 1745, advanced to be captain of the Shirley galley. This vessel was the same he had before commanded as a privateer; it was afterwards hired into the service as an armed ship on the sloop establishment; and lastly, put on the higher footing of a postship or frigate.

“Immediately after peace had taken place we find a gentleman of the same name appointed captain of the Albany sloop. It is by no means improbable that he was the same person, for many instances occur of a post captain having in time of peace, accepted of such inferior commissions”.

John Rous, the privateersman, is probably not identical with the John Rous who was appointed captain of the Albany, for John Rous, the privateersman, had retired from naval service before the end of the war and in 1747 was captain of a flag of truce.

Charnock continues his account with the biography of a Captain John Rous, perhaps the one who was captain of the Albany. He served as captain of H. M. S. Success in 1755, at Louisbourg in 1758, and died at Portsmouth, England, on April 3, 1760. This man cannot be identical with our John Rous, the privateersman of Newport, who was lost at sea in 1750.

Charnock, it will be noted, was also in error in stating that Rous was an American by birth. As has been shown, Rous was born in Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands, but removed to America, and took up his residence at Newport, Rhode Island.

(To be continued)

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PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XXV

JANUARY, 1932

No. 1



PART OF THE HILT OF WASHINGTON'S SWORD

It was treasured for years by the Carroll family of Virginia and in 1861, was presented by members of that family to the First Rhode Island Regiment.

In the Society's Museum.

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
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No. 1

ADDISON P. MUNROE, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Notes Regarding the Origin of Fort Ninigret
in the Narragansett Country
at Charlestown

By WILLIAM B. GOODWIN

In searching the historical archives of the settlement and occupation by the Dutch West India Company, from 1623 to 1674, of that part of New England and New York, originally known as the Dutch New Netherlands, the writer came across two salient excerpts which led him to believe that there must have been a somewhat earlier Dutch trading station and/or fort in the Narragansett Country in Rhode Island than has hitherto been generally accepted. Writers of Rhode Island history, with one exception, have indicated that the fort on the point of land on Charlestown Pond, which from time immemorial has been called Nini-

gret's Fort, was built by that Eastern Niantic chieftain, Ninigret, himself. The one exception was the writer, who stated that this fort had been originally built by the Dutch traders, assigning, however, no date. Moreover, the Point, itself, has become known by years of tradition as Dutch Point.

The following references to a fort, owned by the Dutch in the Narragansett Country prior to their purchase in 1635-'37 of what is now known as Dutch Island and which the Dutch called, "Quetenis," from its Indian name, are the basis which led to our asking permission of the Metropolitan Park Commission, under whose control this small park is held, to permit us to excavate in a preliminary manner for any possible evidence that this fort was not an Indian fort but a fort built by the Dutch prior to the time they acquired Dutch Island as a trading post.

The first interesting information concerning the Dutch fort, prior to the purchase of Quetenis Island and the location of a trading station at Sowams, the capital town of the Wampanoag Indians, is contained in a letter dated 1631, written in a tone of protest by the ambassador from the States General to the Court of King James in reply to the British Ambassador at the Court of The Hague. The British Ambassador had made a broad statement that the Dutch had no right, either by settlement or occupation, to the country of the New Netherlands. In his reply, the Dutch Ambassador said, "Before 1630, we had a fort and colony in the Narragansett Country which has been continuously occupied."

The next statement is from the Assembly of the XIX. to the States General, November, 1627, *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. 1, page 38:

"The last letters from New Netherland bring word, that the English of New Plymouth threaten to drive away those there, or disturb them in their settlement and little colony, notwithstanding our's hereto-

fore had tendered to them every good correspondence and friendship. They therefore request the aid of forty Soldiers for their defence. We would rather see it secured by friendly alliance.”

The third statement is from Wassenaer's *Historical Account*: October, 1628, *Narratives of New Netherland*:

“On the north side are the English Brownists who maintain themselves very well and are much resorted to, supporting their reputation bravely with the natives, whom they do not fear, having acted strictly with these from the first, and so continuing.

“In the beginning of this year, war broke out between the Maikans near Fort Orange and the Makuæ, but these beat and captured the Maikans and drove off the remainder who have settled towards the north by the Fresh River, so called; where they begin again to cultivate the soil; and thus the war has come to an end.”

The fourth statement is found in the *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. 1, page 542:

“The limits of New Netherland, as claimed then, would be from Cape Hindlopen, on the south, to Cape Cod, on the east, including therein Long Island, situate right in front of New Netherland, whence it is separated by an arm of the sea, called the East river, which begins at Coney Island, in the North bay of the North river, and runs again into the sea at the eastward, near Fisher's Island, opposite the Pequatoos river, together with all other bays, rivers and islands situate westward of Cape Cod, and especially the island named Quetenis, lying in Sloop bay, which was purchased, paid for and taken possession of in the year 1637, on the Company's account.”

Fifth, we have the statement found in the *Masachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series 1, Vol. 1 (1811), page 271:

“The lands of the aforesaid river named Conecticcott or Sicagothe were bought and possessed anno 1633 by the servants of the high and mighty of the comaunder of the Sickenamais named Nepaquate as Conquerer and Subduer of the foremencioned land and that by special Intreaty and Consent of the Right subdued owners of the nation present by and consent of Capitaine Awayas of our Comaunder or Sachem of Schalope bay which with large articles as by Credable Testimony Witnessing the deed may appear: and that long before the English had ben upon the River.”

The sixth statement is from the *Narratives of New Netherland*, 1647:

“About the same time (June, 1637) the Indian title to the Island of ‘Quotenis,’ near the ‘Roode Island,’ in Narragansett Bay, was secured for the West India Company, and a trading post was established there, under the superintendence of Abraham Pieteron. Not long afterwards, Pieteron obtained for the company the possession of another island, lying near the Pequod, or Thames River, which for many years after the settlement of Connecticut by the English, continued to be known as ‘the Dutchman’s Island.’”

The above evidence led me to examine the remains of this little fort at Charlestown with the keenest interest. It measures practically two hundred feet square. There are three bastions, the five-sided shape of which is very unusual. We can find no such shaped bastions in any of the books on fortifications which we have been able to locate. That the walls and bastions were built at one and the same time is apparent when the wall itself ends at three of the corners

to allow of an entry into the bastion. The fourth side, which is nearest towards the embankment of Charlestown Pond, did not need a bastion, and on digging, we found no evidence of one ever having been there.

From the oldest living inhabitant of that vicinity, a Mr. Church, we found that the present lines of the fort were pretty much as he had known them from boyhood up to and long before the marking of the site by the State Commission in the year 1881. Mr. Church told us that the entrance to the fort was on the south side near the southeast corner. On digging through the wall, which was evidently a restoration by the Commission, we found that the original wall had never been built across an apparent gateway. From this gateway, there led a diagonal path, southwest, to an ever-living spring which still furnishes the water for an adjoining dwelling. This spring is just above the high water mark.

Along this path, which is outside the walls of the fort, we found some of our most interesting relics, both Indian and Dutch, among which were a pair of knitting needles and a very much rusted Jews' harp, which, as everyone knows, is one of the trinkets the Dutch used in trading with the Indians. One piece of pottery was found along this trail, which compared with several of the more interesting pieces found more nearly in the center of the fort on the inside.

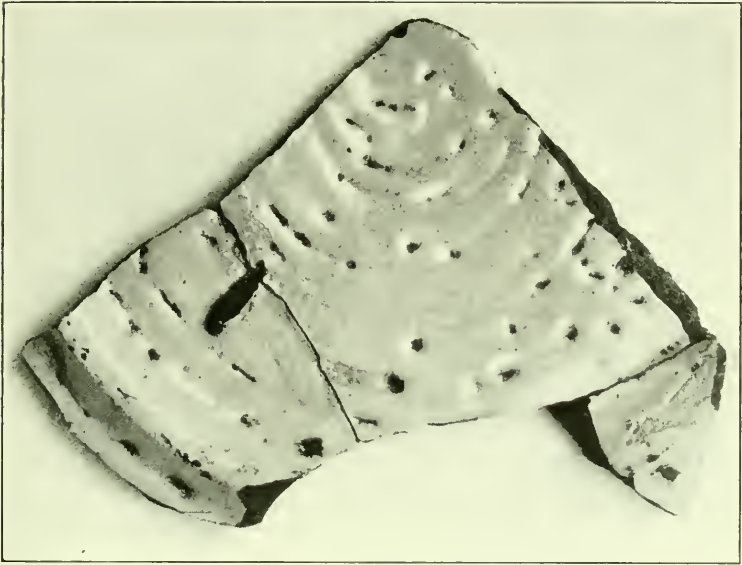
Now in order to find the construction of the fort, we ran transverse ditches on its eastern side. This we did from the bottom of the ditch, which surrounded the fort on all four sides, through to the inside level of the ditch, and here we obtained a very interesting picture of what the fort originally looked like. The builders first laid two parallel walls of glacial field stone about two feet apart. To the back of the inside walls of stone were then driven posts of unknown height, which could hardly be called palisadoes, the remains of which we found insitu in the earth. Of these decayed posts, which were circular, we found clear evidence that the grain of the wood ran in the perpendicular, prov-

ing them to be upright. Back of that, however, on the inside was the evidence of planks laid transversely, whether to hold these posts together or to form a platform on the inside, it is hard to say.

The next step in regard to the construction of the wall was to excavate a ditch with sufficient width so that the earth would be thrown over the whole. The most amazing discovery at this point was that the wall, itself, as far as the earth was concerned, had been raised between two feet, six inches and three feet at some later date. We should say in both instances the grass mould was of the same age. So if the fort goes back to the date we assign to it, 1627, there would be nearly as much decayed roots forming clay as on the original. Whether that means that the walls of the fort were raised halfway between 1627 and 1927, or the present date, is, of course, problematical, or whether a Dutch fort had been erected upon a previous fort. The nearest answer to this problem is that the walls had eroded at some time since the fort was first built and had been restored.

Mr. Church told us that there was a line of stones on top of the fort which were taken away by the Commission. Unfortunately, Mr. Church is the only living man to give us any testimony as to what the fort looked like before the Commission took it over, but following his statements, we found him apparently truthful in every way. As for a man eighty-eight years old, his mind is quite clear and his recollections were in more or less detail. For instance, we were looking for a block-house in the center of this fort, if it was built in 1627, for in 1616 we have the record of the dimensions of the original Dutch Fort Nassau on Castle Island in the Hudson River opposite the present Albany, New York. These notes, translated from the Dutch, are as follows:

“Fort Nassau was fifty-eight feet wide between the walls and built as a square. The moat is eighteen feet wide.”



FRAGMENTS OF A BLUE AND WHITE PLATE ORNAMENTED
WITH LETTER "R"

Unearthed at Fort Ninigret

It is further noted that the house in the fort was thirty-eight feet long and twenty-six feet wide. However, on digging all around the marker boulder, erected by the State Commission when the fort was taken over as a park by the State of Rhode Island, we found no direct evidence of a building which might have had a chimney, and Mr. Church assured us that in his lifetime there never had been such a central building. On the other hand, just outside to the north of the artificial mound in the center, containing the boulder marker of the site, we found the circular depression which we took to possibly be a well. We hired an experienced man, Mr. Babcock, an Indian, who had for forty years been digging wells in the various house sites in the vicinity of the fort on Charlestown Pond.

When we started to dig about this circular depression, we at first immediately thought we had discovered a well. There were laid in a circular form, about four feet in diameter, three layers of field stone. Beneath this, however, these circular layers of stone ceased, although we dug to a matter of twelve feet, and would have expected, if we found the bottom of the well, to have gone to at least twenty-five feet. We found no further positive evidence that this circular wall of stones continued on down. However, at nine and a half feet, we became sure that there had been some excavation here and that it had been filled up with boulders and glacial sand and gravel, of which the whole Point is composed. At the nine and a half feet level, we found several stones which showed signs of fire and to one side of which stones adhered a layer of clay. Inasmuch as there was no clay anywhere in the pit dug down to twelve or more feet, we came to the conclusion that these stones were out of some chimney which at one time or another had been erected on the place and that the well, if it had been a well, had been partly covered and filled in as far as the rocks which had formerly been a chimney are concerned. Beyond this, there was no evidence that there had ever been a block-

house and no woodwork except the back side of the rampart, all of which was in an entirely decayed condition.

The five-sided bastions were not made like the main walls. They were made of stone, much of it flat stone laid one above another and thoroughly covered with earth. The corners of the bastions are clearly marked. The interior of the bastions were shallow indentures in which men could lie for defense of all the four sides of the fort, shooting parallel to the main wall. The same under surface was found in these bastions as in the inside of the fort, itself. As we had nothing further to guide us—the pits that were dug were of various shapes and sizes—we had to trust more or less to luck to find anything that would give us evidence of the age of the structure itself.

We thought for some time there had been a pathway on the east side down to the oyster beds at the foot of the steep bluff on which the fort stands in the harbor itself. Digging into this slight depression, we found that this was merely a drainage erosion. From the main path, digging all along the rectangle of stones, upon which the marker stone in the center of the fort stands, we found some of our most interesting relics. Besides bits of pottery, we found iron implements of various sorts, including a badly eroded shovel, axes, and curious wedges, which must have been a very early form of tomahawk.

The writer made a personal visit a short time ago to the great museum at Fort Ticonderoga, the site of so many of the early French and American wars. As Ticonderoga was not built before 1756, it was not surprising to find that none of the iron implements were of the same form as those found at Fort Ninigret. Pieces of very old iron which looked like knives or daggers were found, as were the fragments of pottery at an average depth of three and a half feet underground. Very little of any kind was found above three feet. One of the best authorities in Connecticut, Mr. Bull, passed on these findings and stated that no such iron had been found in the early shell heaps along the shores of

the Sound between the Pawcatuck River and the river towns of Connecticut. In these same excavations, he had found Jews' harps and other Dutch trading relics.

Now we were fortunate to find a great number of broken clay pipes. On a number of these pipes were the initials of the maker. I think we can say we have from six to eight separate specimens. We are expecting to send these to Holland because we understand that the early pipe manufacturers of Holland put their initials on their pipes. These pipes are of at least five different shapes and sizes. We found a number of specimens of trading copper, made of an alloy, known to have been used by the Dutch in trading with the Indians. We also found soapstone Indian pipes with native copper bands. We found specimens of linen and of what we believe to be trading cloth. It will take chemical tests to ascertain the proportion of woolen or linen in any of these fragments.

Our greatest find, in our humble estimation, was three fragments of a fairly large platter which we at first thought were parts of a Delft Dutch tile, but which on examination, and being finally able to fit the three fragments together, we found the whole outline of a plate, on the top side in a circle of blue and white was the letter "R," a little over an inch and a quarter in diameter. In addition, we found another fragment of pottery in blue and white where the blue lines were parallel in a waving pattern. We found other small fragments of blue and white pottery, none of which were large enough to give us a true line on them. We found old glass in large amounts, one piece of which was evidently a part of a tumbler as it was ornamented in yellow and red bands, burnt into the glass.

At our request the United States Government sent Colonel F. M. Morgan from Fort Adams in Newport harbor to assist us in attempting to find the age of the fort from the soil. Over the entire inside of the fort for a depth of from

six inches to two feet and more was a heavy black mould which we had presumed was leaf mould. Colonel Morgan, after an examination of all of our pits, told us it was grass mould rather than leaf mould. The old writers, describing the Narragansett Country in this vicinity, all state it was more or less park like and we note that the Indians kept it burned over. We found no evidence down to three or four feet in our excavation which would lead us to believe that trees of any size ever stood on this Point.

One of the striking results of our excavation was that, while we found a great number of objects, all of which tended to be Dutch in character, or at least foreign implements, we found only less than half a dozen arrowheads. This is interesting from the point of view that in the level, surrounding country of the original Narragansett-Niantic Reservation, one can find arrowheads everywhere.

As you may know, we have the very pertinent declaration by Captain John Mason that he came from Saybrook Fort in the summer of 1637, and making no mention of a Dutch trading post or fort on Dutch Island, he landed opposite the Narragansetts' main village, eighteen or twenty-six miles away. There he spent the night endeavoring to obtain the aid of the Narragansett chieftain to assist him in his attack on the Pequot Fort at Mystic. From there he marched his little army of ninety men and followers over land to a place where he said a chief, named Ninigret, lived in a fort. This fort he surrounded, warning none of the Indians to come out until he was joined the next morning by the Narragansett warriors who were to go with him and who persuaded Ninigret to go with them. With him, of course, he had Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, and Wequashcook, a Pequot chieftain and brother of Ninigret from the Niantic country in Connecticut. This completed his Indian following. From there he marched twelve miles to the Pawcatuck River and so on to take the Mystic fort by a surreptitious route from the north. History tells us that Miantonomo, Uncas,

Ninigret, and Wequashcook were all leaders of this Indian following.

We also made some attempt to excavate under a house from about a half to three-quarters of a mile to the west of the fort. Eight or nine years ago in digging for the foundation of the house, there was found a cannon¹ and a sword of European manufacture lying about a foot and a half on top of six or eight Indian graves. We found the man, who made the excavation for this cellar, and he has drawn a plan for us. He told us that there were still other Indian graves unexcavated because the owner, Mr. Arnold, only wished to disturb the ground in a section of a part of the cellar under this house, owned at the present time by his niece and nephew.

Through the courtesy of your librarian, we had excellent photographs made of the cannon and sword from all points of view. We took these photographs with us to New York and had the two best experts on armor, living to-day, give us an opinion of their age. One of them showed us a stand of sixty like swords, none of which were exactly like the sword found under the Arnold house. This gentleman dated the sword as at least back of 1600. However, at the Metropolitan Museum, the Curator of Armor, Mr. Grancsay, gave us as his unquestioned opinion that the sword could well date back to 1550. In each instance, both gentlemen declared the cannon to be of a very early breechblock type. In fact, the cannon could go back to the fifteenth century. Now we are convinced from walking all over the ground in the vicinity of Dutch Point, Fort Ninigret, and the old Indian Reservation, that the cannon and sword came from the original Narragansett burying ground. Until, however, we find something of like fashion within Fort Ninigret itself, we are hardly ready to say that the cannon and sword came from Fort Ninigret, but we are keeping in mind the possibility that there were two forts on

¹Illustrated in R. I. H. S. Coll. XV, op. p. 24.

Dutch Neck, one built after the other without disturbing the first, so that it very well may be that we may have found one of the very early existing fortifications in America. Before we make any final decision in this matter, we feel that whenever it is opportune that the Metropolitan Park Commission should set aside a sufficient sum of money to pay for excavating the entire interior of the fort to a depth of at least four feet and, also, to continue the work of going down to the water line of the presumed well inside the center of the fort.

Now it is a curious coincidence that the one Dutchman, who might be responsible for this fort, was Isaac de Rasier, secretary of the Dutch West India Company, who came out in 1626-'27 to investigate on behalf of the Company's unfortunate conditions in the government at Manhattan. He came, as is well-known, as far as the top of Buzzard's Bay and paid a call on the leaders of the Plymouth Plantation. He makes a clear statement that he does not understand why the authorities at Manhattan have not done more to develop the trade with the Indians. This letter was written in 1627.

Now the initial of his name, you will note, is "R". By a curious coincidence the only account, prior to 1600, that we have of an exploration of the shores of Narragansett Bay and Rhode Island, or possibly Long Island Sound, is of two expeditions, the latter part of both the accounts of which is lost to us: that is, after getting to a certain point in the story of what these two expeditions did, the manuscript abruptly ends. This is the account of the third voyage of Jacques Cartier in 1541-'42. He left the port of St. Johns on the Island of Newfoundland on June 14th to return to St. Malo in France. He did not arrive until sometime in October, or at least there is no record of his arrival until late in October. As he was leaving the harbor of St. Johns, he was met by the second part of his expedition, delayed a whole year. He is met by Sieur de Roberval, who demands that he stay and go back with him to Cap Rouge on the

St. Lawrence River. This Cartier refused to do and Roberval goes on to Cap Rouge there to winter in 1542-'43. Roberval had a remarkable pilot for his ships, Jean Alfonsce, and we have a number of accounts, one of which is claimed to have been written, or to have been dictated by Alfonsce, himself; also, a number of maps of the coast of North America from Cape Breton down to Brazil. Is there by any chance a connection between the "R" of the plate and the "R", the initial letter of Sieur de Roberval's name, the leader of this expedition? However, between 1543 at the end of the year and the return of Roberval, there is a sudden stop in Roberval's separate account of the expedition. In both instances, these narratives end abruptly just at the time we would like to know what they were doing in those five or six months of their departure from New France and their return to Old France.

From 1543 to 1600, we now have a number of narratives and many hints that the French, Norman, and Basque sailors came to our shores of New England. Let us give you one instance. Going back to the first Dutch map of 1616, there is marked on this map: at Fort Nassau on the upper Hudson River:

"By as far as one can understand by what the Maquaas say and show, the French came with sloops as high up as their country to trade with them."

Now by no understanding could these French traders have reached the Mohawk or upper Hudson via the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain and Lake George. Such French visits would have been made up the Hudson River. As a further proof, we have Andrew Thivet's clear statement that before 1556 he visited a French fort twelve leagues up the Hudson River so that there is a bare chance that the French may have had something to do with this fort in which we are so much interested.

Now I have given you the above as a stranger who has no

background of the Narragansett Country's history but what he has obtained by research. All of the known English voyages after 1600 do not describe the Charlestown Pond country although Gosnold in 1602 built a little fort on Cuttyhunk Island. There can be no confusion between Fort Ninigret and a possible fort, all signs of which are obliterated, on the little island in the pond on Cuttyhunk.

We would very much like to have it understood that our only conclusions are at this time that there is a real possibility that the Dutch built Fort Ninigret sometime after 1627 and before 1630 and that it was abandoned by them when their trade was destroyed by the long Four Years War between the Pequots and the Narragansett Indians. In consequence, because of the silting up of the harbor of Charlestown Pond, the Dutch when they returned in 1637 established themselves by purchase on a much safer situation: namely, Dutch Island. The main Dutch trade had always been up the Hudson River. No other trade anywhere was comparable with it.

In 1624 the Dutch attempted to colonize the Fort of Good Hope on the Connecticut, presumably at the mouth of the river, Fort Nassau on the Delaware, and Fort Orange on the Hudson, where previously in 1623 they had erected little trading forts. Two years later under Peter Minuit, all these three sets of colonists were by order returned to Manhattan Island where a much more pretentious stone fort, to be named Fort Amsterdam, was in the process of construction. Very shortly after, Fort Nassau on the Delaware was destroyed. What became of this first little fort on the Connecticut is unknown to us.

There seems a fair probability that Isaac de Rasier either built this Dutch fort on Dutch Neck near Charlestown Pond or occupied an earlier fort about which some day we may have more particulars. In the meantime, while awaiting the result of a particular search of the records of the seaports of the Basque Provinces in Spain and France, much might be ascertained if a thorough investigation of the

ground within and adjoining Fort Ninigret was undertaken under scientific methods of exploration.

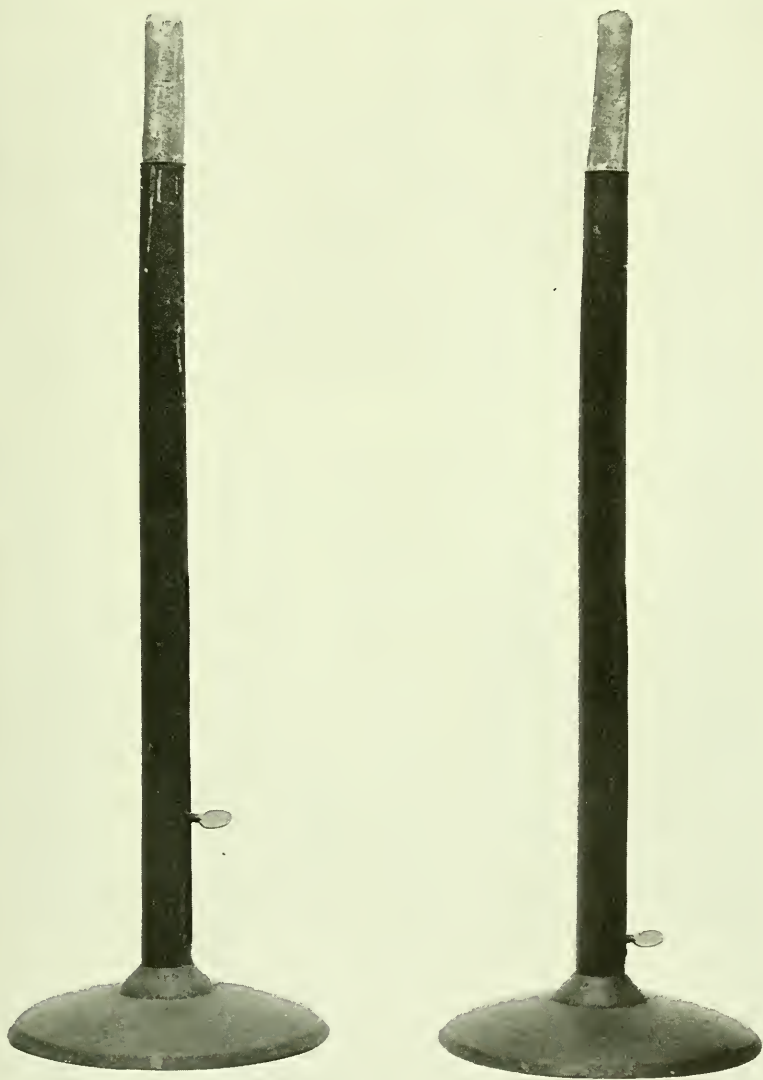
Since setting down the above incidents, connected with our search, we have shown the broken blue and white plate with the letter "R" in its center to the best American authority on Delft, Mr. Hans Middlekoopf, of New York City. Mr. Middlekoopf at once declared it to be very early Dutch Delft. Through fifty years of experience in handling nothing but Dutch antiques and ceramics, Mr. Middlekoopf, born in Holland, may be termed an authority. From specimens in his private collection of Delft, obtained forty or more years ago, he showed the writer the characteristics of early Delft, dating from their origin from the Spanish occupation of Holland between 1545 and 1574. The Spaniards brought with them their own pottery and established a majolica ware out of which the Dutch evolved the later Delft. These fragments of the platter, Mr. Middlekoopf declared without hesitation to have been made in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Summing up then, we have the quasi evidence that here in the vicinity of this fort, or within the fort, itself, have been found a cannon, dating back to the fifteenth century, a sword, dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century, and pottery dating back to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, together with iron implements, used evidently in trade, of such a nature as never have been dug up in the northeastern part of the United States.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, by Besie Bloom Wessel, 1931, 290 pages.

Programme of Celebrations in Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Scituate, Rhode Island, 1931, with many illustrations of old houses.



These candlesticks and candles were used at a ball given in honor of George Washington at Hacker's Hall in Providence, on August 18, 1790, during the brief visit of Washington to the city.

In the Society's Museum.

Rope Yarns from the Old Navy by Rear Admiral Caspar F. Goodrich, New York, 1931, Naval History Society, Vol. XI, contains a chapter relating to the Naval Academy at Newport, R. I. in 1861.

The Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society for October, 1931, contains an article on the Bull family, written by Henry Bull who died in 1841.

The New England Quarterly for October, 1931, contains two articles of Rhode Island interest: "Cotton and Williams Debate Toleration" by Henry B. Parkes; and "Aaron Lopez, Merchant of Newport," by Bruce M. Bigelow.

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. Charles H. Keyes
Mr. William T. Peck

Mr. Webster Knight
R. F. Haffenreffer

An account of George Washington's visits to Providence by Howard W. Preston will be found in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* for October, 1926.

Lashes

Mount Vernon March 12th 1800.

In granting the request contained in your sympathetic letter of the 21st of February I beg you to be assured of the grateful sensibility with which I receive your expressions of condolence and kind wishes for my happiness.

It is innumerable testimonies of respect and veneration paid to the memory of my dear departed Husband, or if universal sympathy in my affliction could afford consolations more worthy to be compted. But while I see and acknowledge these with a grateful heart, I find consolation only in the bosom of that being by whom dispensation I have been afflicted.

That your virtues may be exemplary, that your passage through life may be marked with the blessings of Heaven, and that happiness hereafter may be your portion. Prays

Anna Julia Howes
 Mary to Howells
 Sarah Halley
 Abigail Chase

Your Grand and obedient
 Servant
 Martha Washington.

Letter from Martha Washington containing a lock of
 George Washington's hair.

In the Society's Museum.

Revolutionary Orders of 1780

(Original Manuscript owned by Frederick S. Peck.)

Details of a Detachment from Col. Clinton's Regiment to get aid immediately August 4th 1780.

1 Serjeant 1 Corporal 15 privates
 1 Capt. 1 Serjeant 1 Corporal 20 privates
 From Capt Carrs Company For the Boat Service.

After Orders Augst. 4th 1780.

Genel. Stanton is to take immediate Command at Butts Hill.

Genel. Miller at Bristol both to do all in their power For mutual Support of all the Posts.

The Adjutant & Quart. Mastr. Genel. to Remain. A frequent communication to be had with the Major Genel. as he will give orders in urgent Cases but not for matters of the Post.

Troops in Bristol are to be in as good Order as possible to Cross the Ferry upon Alarm or Otherwise if orderd.

Seven Hundred men to Cross to Butts Hill as Soon as possible, provisions & other Stores to be Sent to Butts Hill from Bristol as Occasion may Require.

Six of the Horse from papasquash to be Sent to Genel. Heath & Four to Genel. Stanton as expressed.

General Orders Bristol August 4th 1780.

The General is very much Surprised to heare Such a firing of guns in Camp it is not only a waste of ammunition but very unsoldierlike he therefore orders every oficer to take notice and Confine any Soldier that may discharge his gun in Camp at the main Guard where he may Depend on being punished as Such Disobedience of orders deserves the Boat

Guard at Bristol ferry is to draw from the Commissary at 3 oClock this after-noon half a pint of Rum pr man and all the other Troops at this post are to draw a gill pr man to be delivered to the Order of the Commanding Officers of Regiments or Detachments.

Details for Guard

the Guard to be furnished from Colo. Peck's Regiment to Consist of 1 Sub. 2 Serjt. 2 Corporals 21 privats.
 the Several Brigades will also furnish from their Artillery officers and Matrosses in the following proportion.
 Viz. Holdens 1 Lt. 1 Serjt. 1 Corporal 9 Matrosses
 Stantons 1 Serjt. 1 Gunner 7 Matrosses
 Lippet 1 Capt. 1 Serjt. 1 Corporal 1 Drum 1 Gun 1 fife 3 Matrosses
 Miller 1 Corporal 5 Matrosses.

The Commanding officers of Regiments and Independent Companies will Direct that the ammunition and Camp furniture to be Returned into the Publick Stores reserving sufficiently for the officers and men furnished by the Respective Corps those who are furloughd will not be intild to pay nor Rations during their absence the officers and Soldiers Remaining on the Ground may Rest assured that they will be relieved within twelve days time Capt. General Returns both officers and men his warmest acknowledgments the Several Brigades and independent Companys at this Post with Privates in the Field. Near the meeting House at half after Six oClock tomorrow morning and the Troops at Butts Hill Praid at 9 oClock.

Bristol Head Quarters 6th August 1780.

His Excellency the Capt. General hathe Directed that the Number of Officers and men in the Several Brigades and independent Companys to Remain on Duty be furnished ea the following proportion

Viz.

Genel. Holdens Brigade 1 Major 1 Capt. 3 Subs. 5 Serjts. 5 Corporals 2 fifs 1 Drum and 99 Privates. General Stantons Brigade 1 Lt Colo. 2 Capts. 5 Subs 6 Serjents 6 Corporals 2 Drums 2 fifs and 159 Privas.

Lippets Brigade Capt. Sub. Serjt. Corp. Drums fifs. Priva.

	3	5	7	7	3	2	213
Millers	2	3	6	6	2	2	94

Independent Companies under Command of Colo. Day
Capt. Sub Serjents Corp Drum fifs Privats.

1	2	3	3	1	1	57
---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Exclusive of the above Number of officers and Soldiers from the Several Brigades the following proportion from their Respective of Horse are to be furnished first

	Sub	Corpl.	Trumpets	
Holdens Do	1	1	1	5 Privats
		Serjt.		
Stantons Do	1	1	1	10 Privats
	Capt		Corpl.	
Lippets Do	1	1	1	12 Privats
Millers Do		1		5 Privats

Head Quarters August 5th 1780
Middletown.

Generl. Varnum Considering the very busy Season of year and the Length of time the Troop of the Rhode Island line had been on the Ground at the Respective posts and from their Patience and assistance in every kind of Duty being fully Persuaded that they will Court Danger with eagerness Should an attack be made by the Enemy is Disposed to give them every indulgence in his Power the Generals hav-

ing therefore Consulted with the Brigades of the Line and Receiving orders of his Excellency the Governor will grant furlows to a large portion of them upon Condition that they agree among themselves who shall be the Persons to obtain the Priviledge the Commanding Officers of Corps will be instructed in what Proportion the furlows shall be Given and upon application to the Major General they Shall be given accordingly But is Expected that Leave of absence will not prevent any from immediately Returning when the Signal Shall be given of the Enemies approach.
Copy Jno Handy Aid De Campe.

NOTE. These orders were issued in connection with the military manoeuvres resulting from the appearance of the British fleet off Narragansett Bay, sometimes referred to as the alarm of July, 1780.

Captain John Rous, R. N.

(Continued from vol. XXIV, p. 176)

Illustrative Documents selected from the Rouse Papers, recently presented to the Society by G. Andrews Moriarty, F. S. A.

I

DEED TO JOHN ROUSSE

On August 31, 1743, Samuel Vernon and Ann Sanford both of Newport, R. I., shopkeepers, executors of the last will and testament of Samuel Vernon, late of said Newport, Esq^r, deceased, for 700 pounds currant money of the colony old tenor, dedded to John Rousse "Two Certain Lotts of Land adjoyning together and both together containing in the Front upon the Street One Hundred and Nineteen feet be the Same more or less and Extending from said Street Easterly into the Cove or Salt Water and

are the Ninety Seventh and Ninety Eighth Lotts in Number of the first Division of an allotment of a Tract of Land called Eastons Point Situate lying and being in the Town of Newport aforesaid of which Jacob Mott and Thomas Cornel of Portsmouth and William Barker and Samuel Thurston of Newport all in the Colony of Rhode Island Yeomen were Original Proprietors Both said Lotts as they lie together are bounded as followeth Viz^t. Westerly upon a Street Easterly upon the Cove or Salt Water Northerly on the thirty Second Lott and Southerly on the One hundred and Sixty first Lott of said Division of sd Allotment Or however otherwise the Same may be butted and bounded or Reputed to be butted and bounded Reference being had to the Lotters Return together with the Map or Platts of sd Allotment may fully Appear Together with the Dwelling House thereon and all other the Buildings Wharf Improvements Rights Profits Priviledges and Appurtenances to the Same belonging or in any wise appertaining To have and to hold the said Granted and Bargained Premisses with all the Rights Profits Priviledges & Appurtenances to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining unto him the said John Rouse his Heirs and Assigns for ever to his & their own sole proper use Benefits and Behoof for ever To be holden of the said Jacob Mott Thomas Cornel William Barker & Samuel Thurston Proprietors as aforesaid and their Heirs as of the Manner of fee farm in free and Common Socage by fealty only in lieu of all Service it being Seated and Improved according to Regulation Yielding & Paying therefore to the said Jacob Mott Thomas Cornel William Barker & Samuel Thurston the said Proprietors and to the Survivers & Survivor of them & to the Heirs & assigns of the Survivers & Survivor of them at or upon the twenty fifth Day of the first Month called March in every Year at or near the Town of Newport aforesaid for ever the full and just Sum of Forty Shillings in Currant Passable Money of New England as shall Pass from Time to Time at the Yearly Payments and as the said Jacob Mott Thomas

Cornel William Barker & Samuel Thurston the Survivers and Survivor of them or the Heirs or Assigns of the Survivers & Survivor of them and so always from Time to Time as their said Heirs or assigns or the Survivers or Survivor of them shall further Impower by Dispositions to Person or Persons or to the Survivers or Survivor of them or to the Heirs or Assigns of the Survivers or Survivor of them the said John Rouse his Heirs Exec^{rs}. Admin^{rs}. or Assigns shall yield and pay therefore to such Person or Persons so appointed and Impowered to accept in the Tenor above successively from Time to Time the Sum of forty Shillings as above the said Service at or upon the Day first above prefixed in every Year at or near the Town of Newport aforesaid for ever And We the Said Samuel Vernon and Ann Sanford for our Selves our Heirs Exec^{rs}. & Admin^{rs}. Do Covenant Promise & Grant to & with the said John Rouse his Heirs & Assigns that at & before the Ensealing hereof we have good Right full Power and Lawfull Authority to Grant Bargain and Sell all the above Granted & Bargained Premisses in Manner as abovesaid And that the said John Rouse his Heirs & Assigns shall and may from Time to Time and at all Times for ever hereafter by force Virtue of these sd Presents Lawfully Peaceably and quietly have hold Use Occupy Possess and Enjoy all the above granted & Bargained Premisses free and Clear & freely & clearly acquitted exonerated & Discharged of & from all Incumbrance whatsoever (the above mentioned Yearly Rent or Service of forty Shillings thereout Issuing to the Proprietors their Heirs & assigns for ever only excepted).”

NOTE: This document shows the form of a colonial deed for land in which the original proprietors, or their successors, retained an interest to the amount of a small annual payment. For reference to obsolete forms of early land tenure and transfer, see R. I. H. S. C. XII, p. 65, *The Tenement on Conimicut*, and R. I. H. S. C. XXIII, p. 1, *Foreclosure of Mortgage by Suit of Trespass and Ejectment*.

II

A FLAG OF TRUCE PASS.

Rhode Island to wit.

By the Honble Gideon Wanton Esqr. Governor Capt. General & Commander in Chief in & over the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England.

To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting.

FORASMUCH as it is the Usage and Custom of Nations at War to exchange such Prisoners as the Parties take from each other And to that End the Subjects & Vessels of one Prince are by Way of Truce admitted into the Territories & Ports of the Prince with whom he is in Enmity. And as there are several of the Subjects of the French King & the King of Spain now Prisoners of War in this Colony who are desirous to be exchanged. Now to the End such an Exchange may be made for the Reciprocal Advantage of those who by the Fortune of War have been deprived of their Liberty. Be it known & manifest that I the said Gideon Wanton in the name of my Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God King of Great Britain &c. do hereby Authorize & Impower John Rouse Master of the Sloop Sarah of the Burthen of Forty five Tons or thereabouts to take on Board said Sloop all the Subjects of the French King & the King of Spain that are Prisoners of War in this Colony & such others as he may find else where with all Stores & Necessaries that the Voyage may require & with them proceed directly to the Island of Hispaniola with a Flagg of Truce & there deliver up said Prisoners & receive such English Prisoners as shall be given in Exchange for them or such other Prisoners as have been heretofore released without Consideration by this Colony since the present War with France & Spain. And I do hereby strictly Inhibit & Forbid the said John Rouse to take on Board any

Military Force or Warlike Stores not doubting that the Supreme Officer there & all whom it doth or may Concern will grant him all due & lawful Assistance and Protection & also according to the Established Custom supply him with all Necessaries (that the Voyage may require) sufficient for the bringing such English Prisoners into their own Country. And I do also desire & request all Commanders of Vessels of Force & others that may meet said Sloop on its Passage either going or returning to exempt said Sloop & the People thereof from all manner of Force and Constraint according to the Laws of Nations. And that the Truth hereof may be Established I set my Name and cause the Seal of the Colony aforesaid to be affixed hereunto at Newport in said Colony the Eighteenth Day of November in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and forty seven And Twenty first of the Reign of my Sovereign aforesaid

GID: WANTON

Sealed with the Seal of the Colony aforesaid
By Order of his Honor the Governor
Tho Ward Secry

NOTE. A flag of truce pass or commission was issued to the captain of a vessel to allow him to proceed, exempt from capture, between the ports of two hostile countries in order to effect the exchange of prisoners of war. The vessel was usually called a flag of truce. A certificate showing that the flag of truce carried no contraband was also issued. A certificate of this sort, which is in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, was printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* vol. 69, p. 78.

III

THE WILL OF JOHN ROUSSE

In the Name of God Amen

The Seventh Day of April in the twenty second year of his Majesty's Reign George the second King of Great Britain

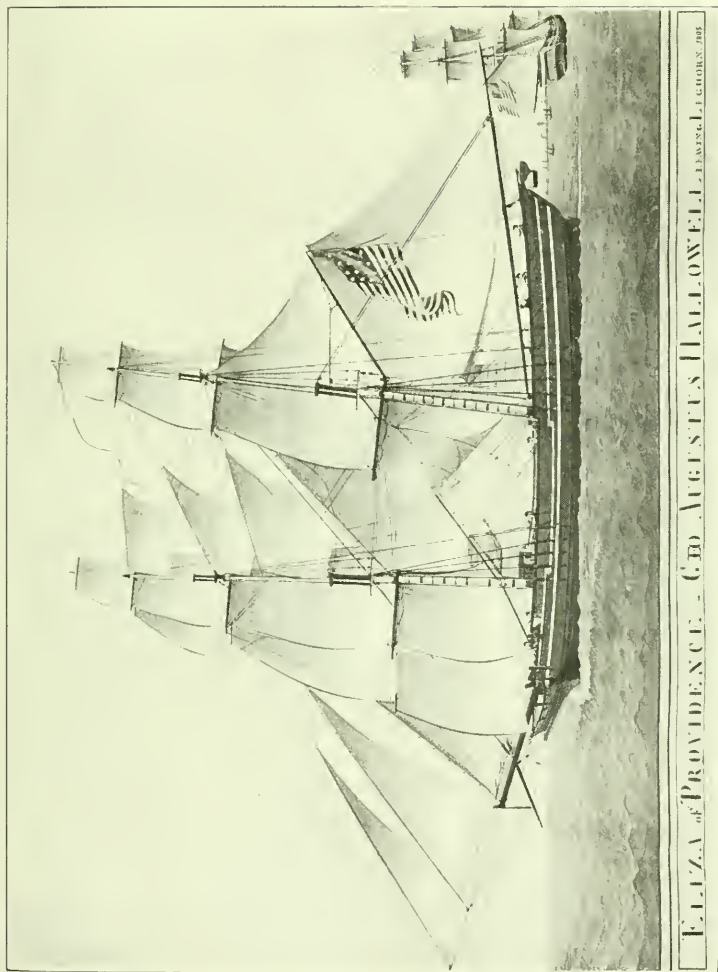
&c. Annoque Dom: 1749 I John Rouse of Newport in the County of Newport & Colony of Rhode Island Mariner being well in Body and of perfect Mind and Memory Thanks be given unto God But calling to Mind the Mortality of my Body and knowing That it is appointed for all Men once to die Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament That is say Principally and first of all I Give and Recommend my Soul into the hands of God that gave it and my Body I Commit to the Earth to be decently buried at the Discretion of my Executrix herein after mentioned and as touching such Worldly Estate wherewith It haths Pleased God to bless me in this Life I Give and Dispose of the same in the following manner & form:

IMPRIMIS I Will that all my just Debts & Funeral Charges be well and truly Paid in some convenient Time after my Decease.

ITEM I Give & Bequeath unto my Wife Jane Rouse the Use & Improvement of all my Estate both Real and Personal for & during the Time she shall remain my Widow, which shall be in Lieu of her Thirds of my Estate.

ITEM I Give Devise and Bequeath into my Son Thomas Rouse and my two Daughters Jane Rouse & Sarah Rouse all my Estate whatsoever both Real and Personal to be Equally divided amongst them and to be Enjoyed by them their Heirs and Assigns for ever at the Decease or Marriage of my said Wife that which shall first happen.

LASTLY I Nominate Constitute and Appoint my said Wife Jane Rouse to be my Executrix of this my last Will and Testament And I do hereby Utterly Disallow Revoke and Disannul all and every other Wills Legacies Bequests and Executors by me at any Time heretofore made named



THE SNOW ELIZA OF PROVIDENCE.

Courtesy of Brown & Ives

Willed or Bequeathed ratifying allowing and Confirming this & no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal the Day & Year first above written.

JOHN ROUSSE

Signd Seald & Declard by the said John Rousse to be his last Will & Testament in the presence of us

William Broughton
Thomas Wevar
William Allin

(To be continued)

Bowen Family Notes

By CHARLES SHEPARD

In the Heraldic Notes on the Bowen family, printed in the *Collections* for July, 1931, pages 132-133, the statement is made that Dr. Richard Bowen, father of Jabez, was "son of Thomas Bowen of Salem," who was son of Richard Bowen of Rehoboth. Following the statement in Savage's Geneological Dictionary of New England, Thomas Bowen of Salem is frequently confused, as here, with the contemporary Thomas of Rehoboth and New London, and since the latter was a direct ancestor of that branch of the Bowen family which was most prominent in Rhode Island, a few notes on the two Thomases may not be amiss.

Thomas Bowen of Essex County, Mass., who was a resident of Marblehead and previously may have lived at Salem, appears frequently in the printed Records and Files of the Essex County Quarterly Courts. As nearly as can be estimated from his conflicting ages stated at different times, he seems to have been born about 1621-25, and at

least as early as 1646 he had a wife Elizabeth who was about the same age. About 1645 he had been a servant of Devereux. In 1642 he testified in court at Salem, which is the earliest record of him that I have yet found.

The printed court records further show that his wife Elizabeth was alive as late as 1662, while Thomas himself was still living at Marblehead in 1681. Pope's Pioneers states that administration was granted on his estate in 1705. He seems to have had children, but I have never had an opportunity to follow this branch of the family further than enough to make certain that he was a different man from Thomas of Rehoboth.

The other Thomas Bowen, the father of Dr. Richard Bowen, was apparently the youngest of the four known sons of the elder Richard Bowen of Rehoboth, who was buried there in February 1674/5. It is reasonable to guess that he was born about 1633, so that he was nearly if not fully ten years younger than the other Thomas of Marblehead. He moved to New London, apparently about 1657, was living there in 1662, and still owned his land in New London when he made his will in 1663, having then returned to Rehoboth where he apparently died. His will may be found in the *Mayflower Descendant* for 1914, vol. 16, page 128, and that of his father is printed in vol. 17, at page 247.

No record has been discovered, so far as I am aware, which identifies this Thomas of Rehoboth in any way with Salem or any other place in Essex County. Confusion between the two men of the same name has been easy, especially since both had wives of the same name, Elizabeth. The widow of the Rehoboth Thomas married Samuel Fuller of Plymouth. Her identity, long sought, is apparently still unknown, though it has been suggested without proof that she was a Brewster. My own guess is that Thomas Bowen met and married his wife Elizabeth during his years at New London, and that further research should be among the Connecticut records, rather than among those of the Brewsters or other Massachusetts families.

A most promising clue (printed in the Fuller genealogy of 1910, page 185) is the power of attorney of 1667 from Elizabeth Fuller of Plymouth, sometime wife of Thomas Bowen, late of Rehoboth, and Samuel Fuller of Plymouth, to their brother-in-law John Prentice of New London, blacksmith, to sell Thomas Bowen's land in New London. Thorough research upon the ramifications of the Prentices of New London, by the Bowen and Fuller descendants of the elusive Elizabeth, might yield rich rewards in authentic information. Apparently it has never been attempted by them.

As I am compiling a genealogy of the Bowen family, with special though not exclusive reference to the descendants of Richard Bowen of Rehoboth, I would appreciate information on this family from any sources, especially entries from family Bibles and data from other private records.

Since the heraldic tombstone of Jabez Bowen has recently been described in the *Collections* for July, it may be especially appropriate at this time to mention the family tradition that the same coat-of-arms was cut on the tombstone of the immigrant Richard Bowen of Rehoboth, buried February, 1674/5. Search in recent years has failed to find any trace of the stone. Any further information tending to show that the traditional stone either did or did not exist, would be welcome.

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



E. A. JOHNSON Co.

PROVIDENCE

WASHINGTON EXHIBITION

February 15 to 21

· 1932 ·



In commemoration of the Washington bicentennial the Rhode Island Historical Society will hold a loan exhibition of objects relating to George Washington, during the week of February 15 to 21, 1932, at the Society's building.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

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WASHINGTON CAVALRY

See page 33

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXV

April, 1932

No. 2

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Washington Cavalry

The illustration upon the cover of this number of the COLLECTIONS is reproduced from a water color sketch originally belonging to the family of Cyrus French, the latter of Little Rest. The subscription states that it represents "A Model of the Washington Cavalry." The colors of the original are as follows: hat, black; coat, red with brown¹ facings, white buttons (probably metal); waistcoat, buff; breeches, fawn; boots, black. The saddle cloth would appear to be dark olive with white strips on the border.

The Washington Cavalry was chartered by the Assembly in the June session of 1792. The incorporators were: John Gardiner, Rowland Brown, Henry Potter, Samuel Helme, Samuel E. Gardiner, Robert Potter, Jr., Christy

¹It is believed that red coat was later replaced with one of blue with buff facings but this cannot at present be verified.

Potter, John Segar, Adam Helme, Jonathan Hazard, Jr., John Potter, Jr., Peter B. Hazard, Jeremiah N. Sands, Griffin Hazard, Jeremiah N. Potter, Francis Hazard, Robert G. Sands, Rowland W. Hazard, William Perry, Nicholas Hazard, Nathaniel Mumford, Thomas H. Hazard, John Gardiner, Jr., and Gideon Hazard.

It was enacted that the rank and file, exclusive of officers, should not exceed sixty-five and that "the said Company shall, at their own Expense, equip themselves with suitable Cloathing, Arms and other Accoutrements . . ."

The first officers were: John Gardiner, captain; Rowland Brown, first lieutenant; Henry Potter, second lieutenant and Samuel E. Gardiner, cornet.

The Washington Cavalry continued its existence until some time during the year 1841 when it was evidently disbanded, there being no further records regarding it after that date.

W. D. M.

More About Queen's Fort

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, p. 141)

The following items are printed from photostat copies in the Society's library.

Sidney S. Rider, in letter to Hazard Stevens, November, 1898, said:

"In the matter of the Queen's Fort, or Wilkie's Fort, of which you ask, I have made some investigations, and there are but few references to it in the early writings and never under either of these names. The Queen's Bed Chamber is some what difficult of access some agility is required both to get in and get out again. It is about 7 feet in height and will hold about 20 men.

"The Indian 'Engineer,' who designed the 'Fort' was the same one who planned the defences of the Island on which was the Fort in the Great Swamp Fight"

James N. Arnold, in *Pen Pictures of Narragansett History*, said:

"The Queen's Bed Chamber consists of a square opening in a solid rock, and partly covered with a thin stone. Here in this rock-bound scene lived the widowed Queen, Magnus. Her dominions stretched away to the southward along the banks of a river that still bears her title Queen. Over a tract of several thousand acres this woman held an undisputed sway. This fact is interesting from its proving that the Narragansett Indians did look after the welfare of their women, and provided means of support for them after their hunter had been taken from them."

James N. Arnold, in letter to Hazard Stevens, December 2, 1898, said:

"The name (Wilkie Fort) came from the first English owner of the land purchasing from the Committee, this being a part of the vacant lands. (55 Potter)

"Along the Queen's River from its source to its union with the Usquepaug was set aside for the use and support of the squaw sachem, and a guard of 24 warriors was detailed for this purpose, to guard and protect her. Her name was Magnus. She was the widow of Meikie, the son and heir of Canonicus, who was head of the nation. Magnus' death under the circumstances was tragic. She was taken prisoner by the Connecticut troops in Phillip's war, carried to Connecticut and put to death.

"The source of the Queen's River is a spring on the south side of this cluster of stones.

"You may judge how much of a tract her hunters rambled over when you take the distance from here to Usquepaug.

"You observed on the west side of these rocks there is a patch of sand. It was at this spot that the corn was taken Nov. 27, 1675 (See Potter).

"Starting from the west side you crossed some rocks and there came a break and then the great cluster. The chamber is well towards the west part of this last clump of stones.

"There is a large flat stone that covers the entire chamber and fits very close except on the south side which gives an opening of about two feet in height and the width of the chamber in length. The chamber itself is about 10 feet square and about six feet in the clear.

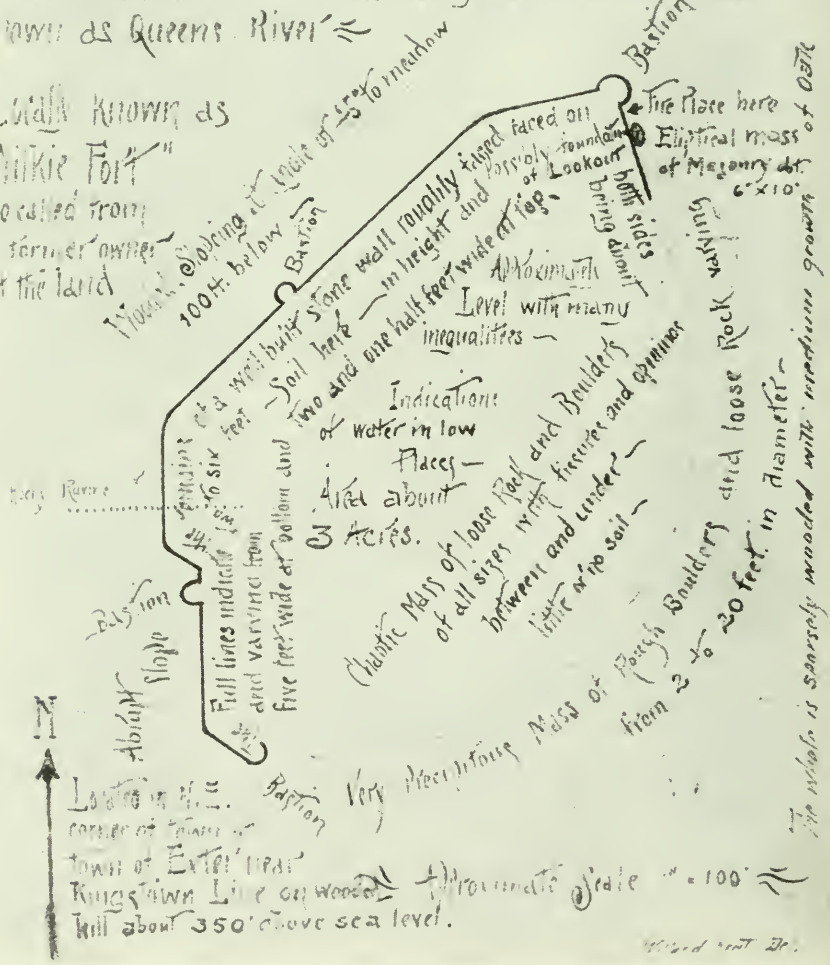
"I could reach the ceiling with my hands when I was in it. The room is very square and well proportioned. I am really sorry you did not find it but if one is not very careful he is apt to go by it.

"There is lots of tradition about the sheep stealers that one time made this their rendezvous and also plenty of stories about the insane hermit Reynolds all of which would write up quite a respectable magazine article. Perhaps some time I might do this."

Sketch of present location of
Queen's Fort Nov. 10. 1896.

Once the strong old of the Widowed Queen Margruss who according to tradition here had her residence and held undisputed sway over a fort comprising many thousand acres in extent including the valley of the stream now known as Queens River.

Locally known as "Wilkie Fort" so called from a former owner of the land.



Location in the corner of plain in town of Exeter near Kingsdown Line on wooded hill about 350' above sea level.

SKETCH OF QUEEN'S FORT BY WILLARD KENT

From photostat in the Society's library.

Stony Fort

The document containing a reference to Stony Fort, that was printed in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. III, p. 407, and mentioned in vol. XXIV, p. 149, is recorded in *R. I. Land Evidences*, vol. II, p. 200.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Potowomut, an illustrated historical pamphlet of 26 pages by Anna M. M. Lawrence.

Some Further Papers Relating to King Philip's War, a pamphlet of 14 pages issued by the Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island, 1931, contains reprints of three documents in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

Earthquake Damage and Earthquake Insurance, by John R. Freeman, which contains an account of the earthquakes that have occurred in Rhode Island.

In Praise of Antiquities, an address by Norman M. Isham, published by the Walpole Society.

A genealogy of the de Chappotin family of Rhode Island appears in the *Selden Ancestry* (pages 270-291) which was published at Oil City, Penna., in 1931.

The New England Quarterly for January, 1932, contains an article on "Rhode Island's First Court of Admiralty" by Marguerite Appleton, and on "Student Interest at Brown 1780-1790," based on the contemporary letters of Brown students.

The New England Hist. and Gen. Reg. for January, 1932, contains an article on the Littlefield Family of Block Island by G. Andrews Moriarty, Jr.

George Washington and Rhode Island, by John Williams Haley, is an illustrated pamphlet of 40 pages, published by the State of Rhode Island.

The article by Richard Holden Tingley in *The Sportsman* for January 1932, entitled *Great Rains of Little Fishes* refers to the rain of fish at Providence in 1900 which was described at length in the *Providence Journal* of May 16, 1900.

The second volume of the *Sullivan Papers*, 1778-1779, which is volume 14 of the *New Hampshire Historical Society Collections*, contains much of Rhode Island interest, as these papers and letters relate to the period that General Sullivan spent in Rhode Island. Indeed, this volume might well be considered a source book on one phase of Rhode Island's part in the American Revolution.

The Sandwich Papers, just published as volume 69 of the *Publications of Navy Records Society*, London, 1932, contains several references to Providence, Newport, Rhode Island, and the Gaspee affair. The following item on page 173 is interesting:

"You will please observe this bay runs 30 miles up into the country to a town called Providence, through which place all the provisions came for the supply of the rebel army at Boston; and it being navigable for men-of-war sloops and even frigates all the way up to Providence, we might (had we possession of it) cut off the supplies from the rebel army at Boston, and from Connecticut it would be extremely difficult in the winter for them to be supplied.

"The town of Providence might easily be kept possession of from its situation, having a river on the left and a hill on the right which runs along the back of the town. Providence is near a mile long, having but one street along the river side, and lays nearly north and south. At the south end of the town, there is a river runs east and joins to Providence River, which makes a high point up to which it is always navigable along the town and from Newport and Rhode Island, from whence our troops could easily be supplied with provisions."

Washington's Visits to Rhode Island, by Howard W. Preston, enlarged and reprinted from the *Rhode Island Historical Society's Collections*, October, 1926, is an illustrated pamphlet of 28 pages published as number 5 of the Historical Publications of the Rhode Island State Bureau of Information.

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. W. Easton Louttit, Jr.	Mrs. C. Oliver Iselin
Prof. William T. Hastings	Mr. William E. Brigham
Mr. Dexter L. Lewis	Mrs. William E. Brigham
Mr. Clarence E. Sherman	Mrs. Richard Rathbone Graham
Mrs. John W. Holton	Mr. Kenneth D. MacColl
Mr. Richard LeB. Bowen	Mr. Howard L. Anthony
Mrs. Edwin A. Cady	Miss Mary A. Jack
John E. Donley, M.D.	Miss Eleanor B. Green
Mrs. Charles C. Stover	Mr. William C. Johnson
Mr. T. Robley Louttit	Mr. Emilio N. Cappelli
Mrs. Mabel B. Comstock	Mr. Edmund H. Parsons
Mr. Charles Owen Ethier	Mrs. S. H. Cabot

The need for a new building for the Society is as urgent now as it was last year, and it is hoped that some public-spirited Rhode Islander will donate or bequeath the funds necessary for a new building or for the adequate enlargement of our present building.

Bee it knowne vnto all people by these presents That I Potacom
 alias Giles formerly inhabitant at Masshapaug and owner of three Indian
 field called masshapaug fields did in the yeare one thousand six hundred
 and fifty about the middle of the month called May in the abovesaid
 for good Consideration then in hand Received of Richard waterman of the
 Towne of Providence in the Colonie of Rhode Island and providence pla
^{mentioned} in New England the Receipt of which I doo acknowledge and doo
 hereby acquit and discharge him his heirs Executors and assigns of the
 Same. did then sell make over confirm vnto the said Richard
 waterman one of the three Indian fields the other two having sold
 before that time vnto the aforesaid Richard waterman and Received full
 satisfaction for them: this said field is bounded on the westward part
 with the meadow of the said Richard waterman which both upon a
 brooke that issues out of the south end of the Great pond called
 masshapaug which end of the said pond is about two English miles south
 westwardly from the said Towne of Providence: on the Southern part
 with a small pond: bounded on the part that is northwardly with the
 Southern part of the abovesaid Great pond called masshapaug in name
 on the Eastern part the said tract doeth extend as far as the Indians have
 formerly planted all which aforesaid tract of land with all my right
 interest and title and Clame thereto in forme and manner according vnto the
 Boundes prescribed with all the appurtenances Bonofits and Commodities
 thereof and thereto belonging I say for full satisfaction in hand Received
 about the middle of may in the yeare one thousand six hundred and fifty
 did truly sell and make over and passe away both from my selfe
 and from my heirs vnto Richard waterman aforesaid both for him selfe
 and his heirs to have and to hold as his or Either of thore two proper
 and Lawfull Right and Inheritance for Ever and the said Richard
 waterman hath from the time aforesaid stood Lawfully possessed
 with the said lands and doeth stand truly and Lawfully seized and possessed
 with the said lands and Eueroy part and parcel thereof also the said
 Potacom doe hereby bind my selfe my heirs and assigns at all times to
 keepo harmless the said Richard waterman his heirs and assigns
 from any person claiming or to Clame by vertue of any other bargain or sale
 Imbroilment or charge vnto or Committed at any time to one the
 said Potacom alias Giles in witness whereof: vnto all and singular thore
 abovesaid promises I doo hereunto set my hand and Seal this thirteenth
 day of Aprill in the yeare one thousand six hundred sixty seven
 Signed Sealed and Delivered in the
 presence of vs the marks of Potacom alias Giles

John Frost
 Stephen Dexter

An Unrecorded Indian Deed of 1667.

From original manuscript owned by Mrs. R. S. Richmond.

Extracts from the Rhode Island Gazette

Since the publication in the COLLECTIONS of October, 1923 (page 103), of the items of local interest that appeared in the *Rhode Island Gazette* of 1732, four more issues of the *Gazette* have been located. These copies were mentioned by Hammett in his *Bibliography of Newport* (1887), but were not located by subsequent bibliographers. Through the courtesy of their present owner, Mr. Edward A. Sherman of Newport, we are able to print the items of local interest in these issues.

Rhode Island Items

NEWPORT JAN. 11, 1733

On the 30th past dy'd Abraham Borden Esq; General Treasurer of this Colony, after a few Days Illness.

On Friday last was drawn the Lottery set forth by Mr. Isaac Anthony. The House and Land fell to Mr. Josias Lendon, Jun. and three or four more considerable Prizes to others of this Place.

Custom House Newport. Entered Inwards.

Coatts from Boneyary. *Outward Bound*, None. *Cleared Out*, Coggeshall and Norton for Suranam, and Ladd for Barbadoes.

ADVERTISEMENT

No. 13 of this Paper concludes a Quarter. Those who have taken it from the Beginning, are desir'd to pay their Money to John Franklin of Boston, or James Franklin of Newport; the Continuance of it depending on punctual Quarterly Payments, or a greater Number of Subscribers.

N. B. A good Correspondence is settled for supplying this Paper with Foreign and Domestick Affairs, as well as

Speculations, and may be better carried on than hitherto it has been if a farther Encouragement is given.

NEWPORT JAN. 25

Custom House Newport. Entered Inwards.

Wickham from St. Christophers, and Wilkinson from Boneary. *Outward Bound.* Coatts for Leward-Islands. *Cleared out.* Brinn for Affrica, Wickham for St. Christophers, and Beaucham for Leward Islands.

ADVERTISEMENTS

To be sold by Mrs. Nearegrass, at her Shop in Newport, a valuable Parcel of Books, consisting of Divinity, History, Law, Physick, Plays, &c. most of them new, and well board.

N. B. They will be sold very cheap, the said Nearegrass designating to leave off the Business of Book-selling.

(Advertisements are repeated from the issues of Dec. 21 and Jan. 11)

NEWPORT FEB. 22

We hear from Narraganset, That a Son of Mr. Green (whose House was burnt at Warwick, as mention'd in one of our late Papers) had the Misfortune to Lose lately by Fire his House, Shop and Corn Crib. 'Tis said nothing was sav'd but part of the Corn in the Crib. And, That a Bridge, a Mill, and a Forge were last Week broke down and carry'd away by the Ice coming down Pautucket River.

The issues of February 22 and March 1 are torn so that only part of the advertisements remain.

They read:

ADVERTISEMENT S.

All Persons who have given Notes-r- - -
port, for his Lottery Tickets, - - -

This is to give Notice that - - -
George Dunbar Esq; is put - - -
which Time it is not doubted - - -

NEWPORT MARCH 1

We hear above 50 Vessels were blown off the Coast of New England the last Winter, and arrived in the West Indies. Capt. Elliot, who was blown off to Antigua in his Passage from this Place to Boston, is arrived at Martha's Vineyard. A Sloop blown off, ——— Sears Master, is arriv'd here.

Custom House Newport. Entered Inwards.

Vencent from Virginia, Dyre and Sears from Eustaria, Gullin from Hispaniola, and Waters from Boston. *Outward Bound*, Briggs for Barbados. *Cleared Out*, Bell for Barbados, Linsey for Leward Islands, and Frame for Antigua.

ADVERTISEMENT S.

THIS is to give Notice to all Persons whom it may concern, That the Lottery set forth by *John Dickenson* of *Warwick*, is put off to the *26th* of *April* next, and then to be drawn, or sooner, if full, at Capt. *Gorton's* in *Warwick*, in the Colony of *Rhode Island*; which Town is almost twenty Miles nearer to *Boston* than *Newport* is, and just by said *Dickenson's* Shop of Goods, which will be very

handy for those who draw Prizes of *English* Goods which they do nor like, to return them and have them changed for any other Sort of *English* Goods which suit them better.

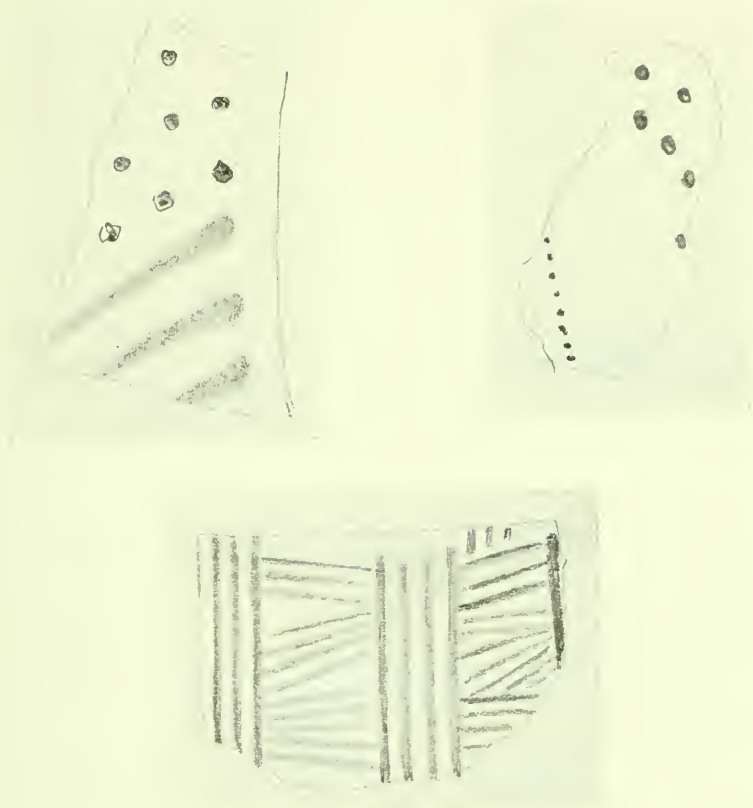
This is likewise to give - - -
 Gentlemen that have - - -
 of the abovesaid, Le - - -
 a mind to venture - - -
 as much entitle - - -
 - - - - against - - -
 - - - of *Warre* - - -
 - drawn in N - - -
 ting off the g - - -
 Country is the - - -
 there drawn.

Notice of th - - -
 ven in the Publ - - -
 fore.

To be sold, a Trace of - - -
 lying in North Kings - - -
 Mumford, Jun. and well w - - -
 Newport, about 60 Feet - - -
 with a good Dwelling House - - -
 Tenents, near the Prison Ho - - -
 12 Years of Age, and a Slo - - -
 Stocks. Enquire of James - - -
 port, and know further t - - -

To be sold to the hi - - -
 the Prince's Head - - -
 Land belonging to it - - -
 Deep, the House abunt - - -
 Rooms below, and - - -
 Out-House fir for - - -
 Pump in it Thos - - -
 defit'd to meet at - - -

(Advertisements from the issue of Feb. 22 are repeated)



Fragments of pottery unearthed at Charlestown, R. I., showing the crude attempts at artistic adornment by early Narragansett Indian potters. The upper ones were found in 1873 and the other one in 1921. Some more pretentious artistic efforts of the Indians are described in the *R. I. H. S. COLLECTIONS* for July, 1919, January, 1925, and October, 1926, but those more pretentious attempts were probably in most cases not the work of local Rhode Island Indians.

Shipping Manuscript

It is thought by all concerned, that the A. M. had best be ordered to touch Galinus & Cape Mount,* and if her cargo will there purchase 380. or 400. and be dispatched immediately to trade them and return—If such trade cannot be made there, to proceed without loss of time & without making any trade at the windward, to the Gold Coast, & there make the best trade that can be made, with as little delay as possible, & return—If capt. B. thinks from the information he gets at Trinidad, that the Cargo is not sufficient to put in 2. or 3000. dollars or other things as he may think proper—Enquire in whose name the property of the vessel stands, & what order or power has been given by the apparent owner, for disbursing the proceeds, among the real owners.

When the vessel with the Cargo arrives off Trinidad, she will stand in back of the Kacilda and set a blue flag with a white Ball, at the fore Top-Gallant mast-head—If she can come in, answer with same Signal, and haul it down and up three times, & then Keep it flying, if she cannot come in, after raising it three times, haul it down—The vessel off will do the same & wait your instructions. (R. I. H. S. M. XVII, 94.)

NOTE — This manuscript, which, from the paper and handwriting, would seem to date from about the period of the War of 1812, was recently presented to the Society by Mr. W. H. Peck, together with other papers relating to the shipping business of Nicholas Peck and Co., of Bristol, R. I.

*Cape Mount, a headland in Western Africa at 6° 46N.

General Washington at Little Rest

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER

In a sketch of the village of Little Rest during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth century, the late Rev. J. Hagadorn Wells¹ in describing the various old houses, wrote: "Another of these ancient structures stood well back on the northwest corner,"² where it described a quadrant of a circle into the north road. In my early days it had reached a state of melancholy decrepitude, and in the late twenties of the last century the once noble, but then crazy old barrack, with all its ungracious vicinage, was swept clean . . . The revolutionary chapter of this old mansion's history contains the most of interest. At that time it was the residence of Col. Thomas Potter³ . . . Colonel Potter entertained General Washington and his staff at his residence when he was on his way back to Newport after its evacuation by the British. No doubt the Colonel accompanied the General and participated in the brilliant reception which awaited him there by the American and French forces. Colonel Potter was put in command of the garrison in the city⁴ . . . some

¹This sketch was published in *The Grist*, Rhode Island State College, Kingston, 1901, and was entitled *Ye Ancient Little Rest*. The name was changed in 1825 to Kingston.

²This is a reference to one of the four two storied gambrel roof houses which formerly stood one on each corner of the four corners by the village pump.

³Son of Ichabod and Deborah (Reynolds) Potter born 1738, died 1793.

⁴This is probably not correct. Thomas Potter was Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the 3rd Regiment of the King's County Militia. Stiles states on hearsay that "the Mass. & Rh Isld. Militia were ordered to Newport: G. Lincoln has the Command of them." *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., New York, 1901, vol. II, p. 521.

Follow at Little Rest	2796
Mary's great Salary	200
Commissariat do	200
For Horse and Riding Hut	75
Mending Saddles	225
Board at Newport	1450
Bristol Salary	240
Provisionary	96
Providence	840
Dorchester	720
Boston	346
Windsor Salary	54
Windsor	960
Farmington	560
Windsor Salary	250
Windsor - Carried over	17781½
	Carried over
	56,000

Washington's Expenses in Rhode Island in 1781.

From original manuscript in the Library of Congress.

pleasant traditions have come down to us respecting this brief visit at Colonel Potter's. One of his daughters in her old age loved to tell the story of her being taken by the General on his knee and enjoying a childish talk with him. No doubt the child remembered more of it than did the General."

There have been so many "pleasant traditions" as to the whereabouts of Washington's lodgings on his various travels that the credentials of the applicant to such an honor must needs be carefully examined. Research has disclosed, however, that the claim of Little Rest can be truly allowed and that there is every reason to be sure that General Washington spent the night of March 5, 1781, in that village and that he probably was a guest of Colonel Potter. Contemporary evidence can be produced in substantiation of this assertion in the form of extracts from diaries of two South County residents, and, most important of all, from the expense account of the General's journey, kept by one of his aides, Lieutenant Colonel Trench Tilghman. This manuscript, preserved in the Library of Congress, through whose courtesy it is reproduced herewith, gives incidentally the itinerary of the journey and some of the inns patronized, but unfortunately does not state where the nights were spent. This can, however, be proven by the diaries mentioned and other contemporary references.

A Connecticut diary states that General Washington passed through Hartford on Sunday March 4, 1781⁵ having possibly spent the previous night in Farmington. Where the party spent the night of the fourth is in doubt, but it is possible that it was in Norwich in view of the fact that there is reference to the town having been illuminated on that evening. The first Rhode Island town mentioned is

⁵*The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, vol. II, p. 519. The reference on page 522 is, however, incorrect in stating that General Washington arrived in Newport on March 5th. Contemporary accounts from Newport give the date as March 6th.

“Kinnions,” the present day Kenyons. Here \$1900⁶ was expended, probably for refreshment for man and beast, and also \$174 for two guides to conduct the party to “Potters at Little Rest” where they would appear to have arrived during the afternoon of March fifth. The amount spent in Little Rest is the largest item in the account, \$2796, a sum which, it is to be hoped, was not indicative of the lack of hospitality on the part of the residents, but rather that the stay made was longer and that necessary cost incidental to refurbishing and replacing equipment, etc., for the entry into Newport the next day, created added expense.

We have Hagadorn Wells’ statement that General Washington stayed at Colonel Thomas Potter’s. This is highly probable in view of the fact of the prominence and military rank which Potter held, but it cannot be definitely proven. “Potters at Little Rest” may mean Col. Potters, John Potter’s Inn or Judge William Potter’s famous house, the Abbey, further up the North Road. As General Howe is stated to have accompanied Washington on this journey, the solution would seem to be that Washington, and perhaps Howe and Tilghman, lodged at the Colonel’s, while the remainder of the party were accommodated at John Potter’s Inn. Save for Wells’ reference, there seems, unfortunately, to be nothing to clarify this doubt.

The next day, Tuesday, March 6th, two reputable residents of the old South County made entries in their diaries

⁶The sums in the expense accounts seem unreasonably large until the depressed condition of colonial currency is realized. In 1780 the General Assembly of Rhode Island established a scale of depreciation for bills of public credit. These tables expressed the value of one hundred Spanish milled dollars in paper currency and were promulgated about four times a year. With reference to the case point we find that in November 1780 one hundred Spanish milled dollars equalled seven thousand, four hundred paper dollars and in April 1781 one hundred Spanish milled dollars equalled seven thousand, nine hundred paper dollars. It might be of interest to add that in 1777 the ratio was 100 to 105 and that in May 1781 it was 100 to 16,000. *Bills of Credit and Paper Money of Rhode Island*, Elisha R. Potter, Providence, 1880, pp. 113.

to record George Washington's presence. The first, "Nailer Tom" (Thomas B. Hazard), notes with his usual succinct manner: "3/6 C. W. W. made Nails. went to Tower Hall. Generril Washinton went Newport this Day. the Town was Elluminated."⁷ On leaving Little Rest, Washington made his way to the old South Ferry to cross to Conanicut and from there to Newport. We find from the account that each ferry toll was \$288. On his way he passed by the house of Jeffrey Watson, who lived near the ferry and had, in fact, at one time owned and operated it.⁸ Watson noted that outstanding event by entering in his diary that "On March 6th General Washington Rode by our House with about Twenty Soldiers for a guard about ten o'clock."⁹

It is regrettable that General Washington did not keep his diary at this date that we *might* have had his impression of his visit to Little Rest, and it is also regrettable that there appears to be no contemporary account of the entertainment afforded him by the village, of the "ellumination," of the possible guard of honor composed of a detail from the Kingston Reds, of the jollity at "Joe Runnells" Tavern and at the several other inns.

The only further reference to the General's visit comes down to us in the tale of "Major" Lunt, who boasted of the honor of having shaved the Father of his Country, which is so amusingly told in the Jonny Cake Papers.¹⁰ Record, that cruel despoiler of traditional glory, deprives Lunt of his rank and enters him as private and sergeant. On February 7, 1834, Elisha Reynolds Potter, son of Col. Potter, then a member of Congress, wrote to his son Elisha that "In the time of the revolution Mr. Lunt watched a

⁷*Nailer Tom's Diary*, Thomas B. Hazard. Boston, 1930, p. 20.

⁸*Rhode Island Ferries*, Anna Augusta and Charles V. Chapin, Providence, 1925, pp. 264 et seq.

⁹*Narragansett Friend's Meeting*, Caroline Hazard, Boston, 1899, p. 167.

¹⁰*The Jonny Cake Papers of "Shepard Tom,"* Thomas Robinson Hazard, Boston, 1851.

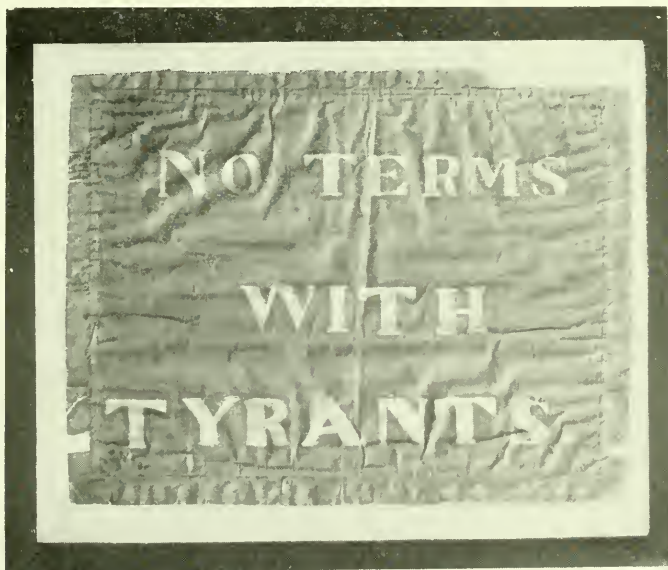
beacon that we had on the hill to light when the English landed on our shores and had a gun that he was blown up with to fire for the same purpose. I want you to see him and git him to make application for a pension . . .”¹¹

So the “pleasant tradition” of George Washington’s stay in Little Rest happily becomes an historical fact, a genuine satisfaction that occurs but occasionally in the work of historical research where the glamour surrounding the past is so often rudely dispelled.

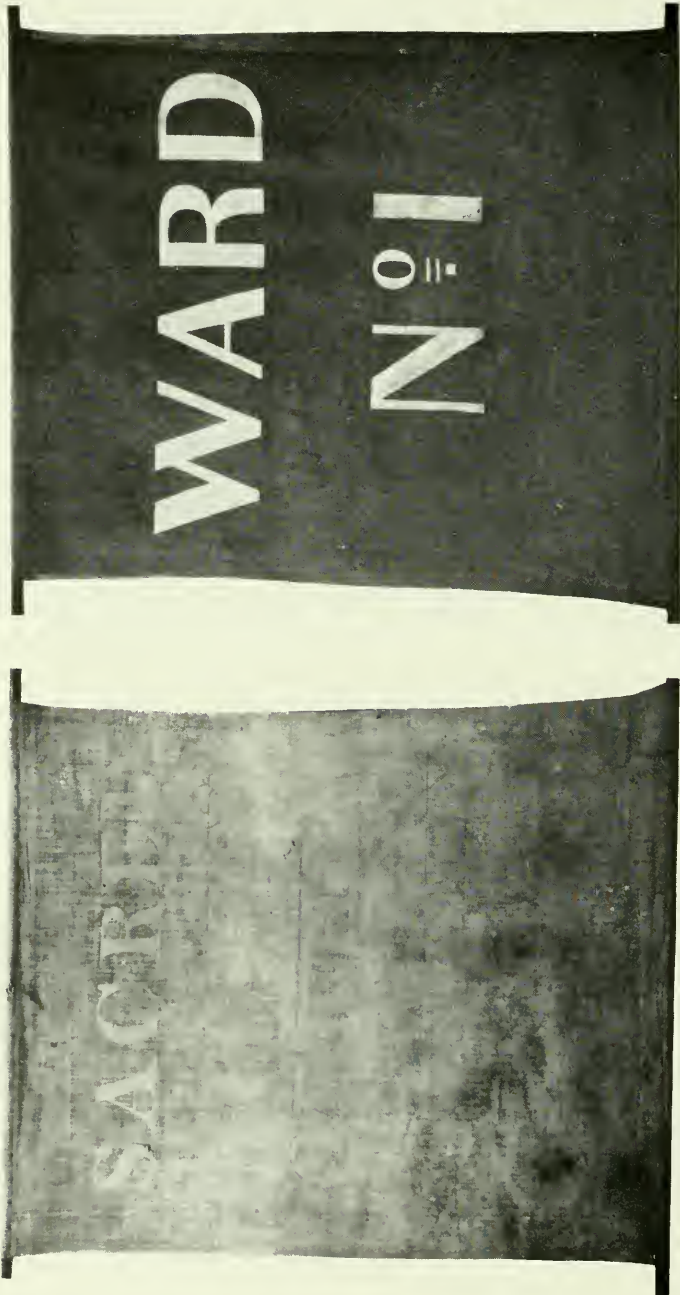
¹¹From the Potter Papers. The pension was granted and is recorded in the pension list published in 1835.

Dorr War Flags

The Rhode Island Historical Society museum contains a collection of nine Dorr War banners, which were carried in 1842. Illustrations of the interesting political banners are shown in this issue of the COLLECTIONS.



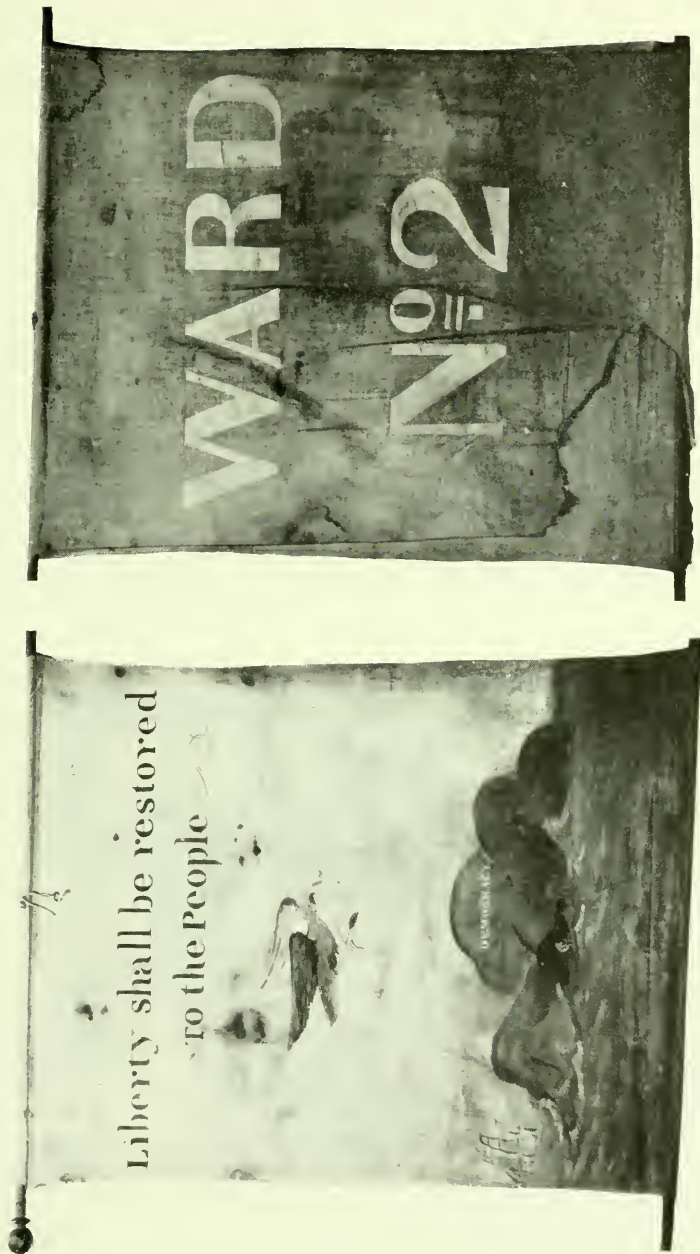
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(Reverse)

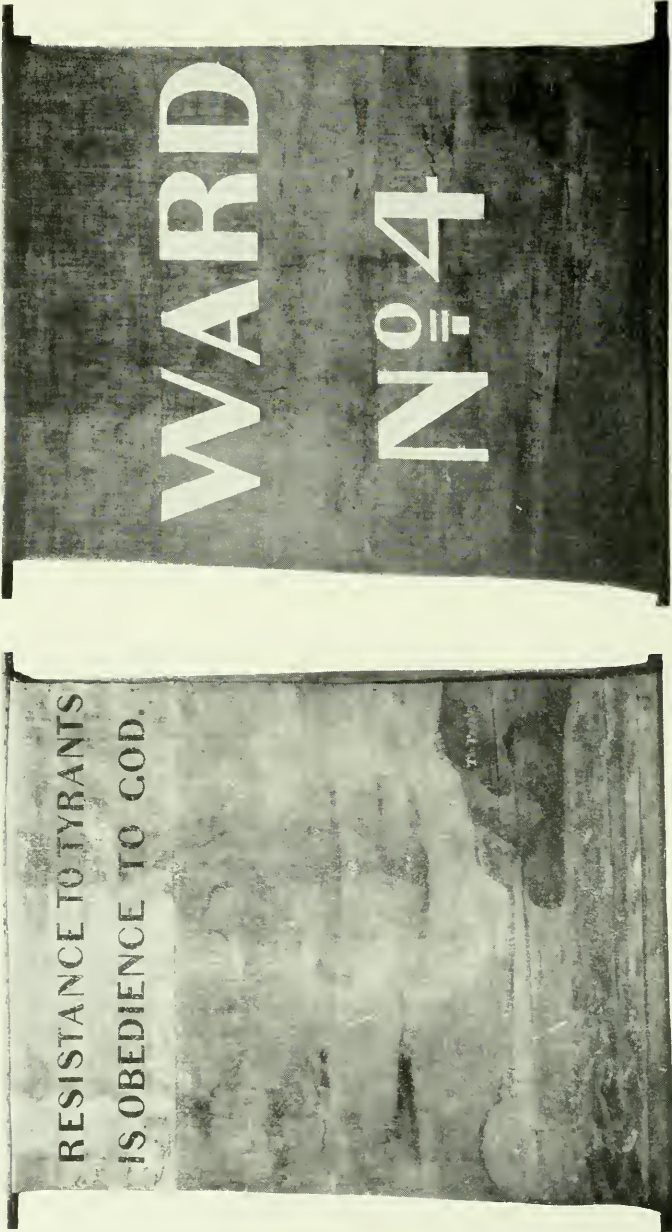
FIRST WARD BANNER

The Inscription Reads: "Sacred to the Memory of
the Hon. J. Gilley."



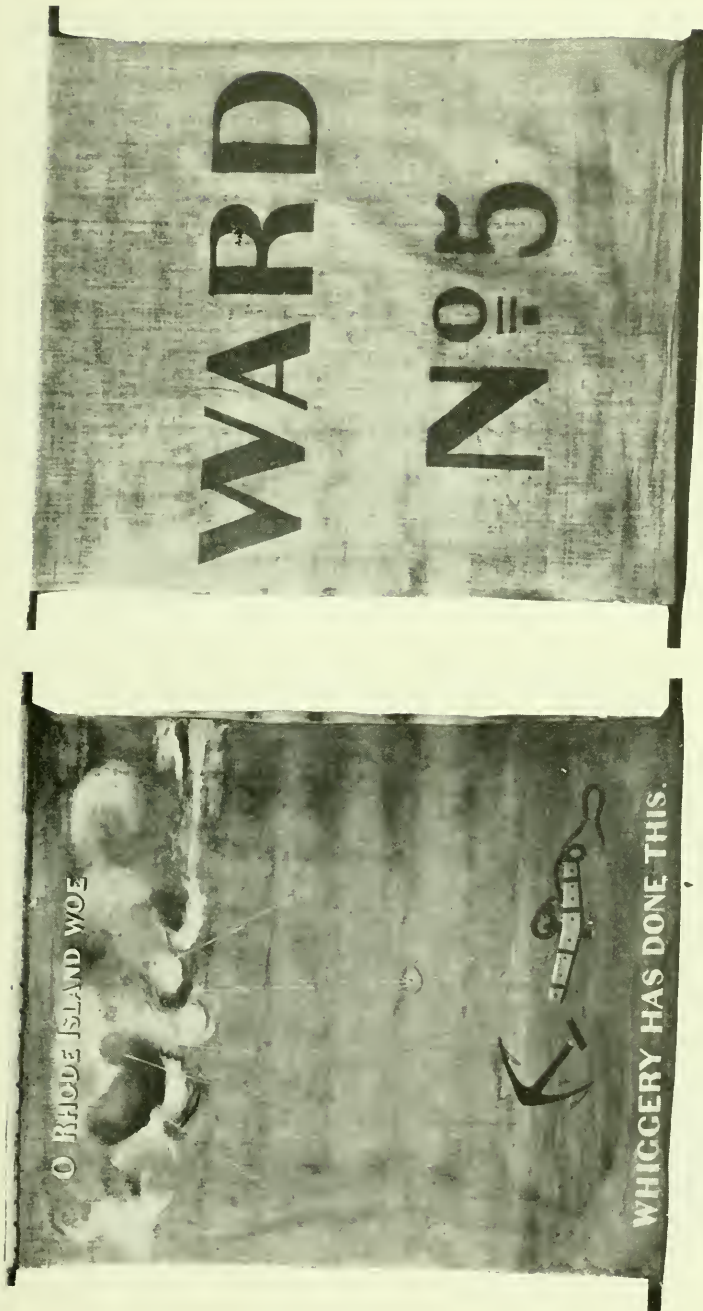
SECOND WARD BANNER

(Reverse)



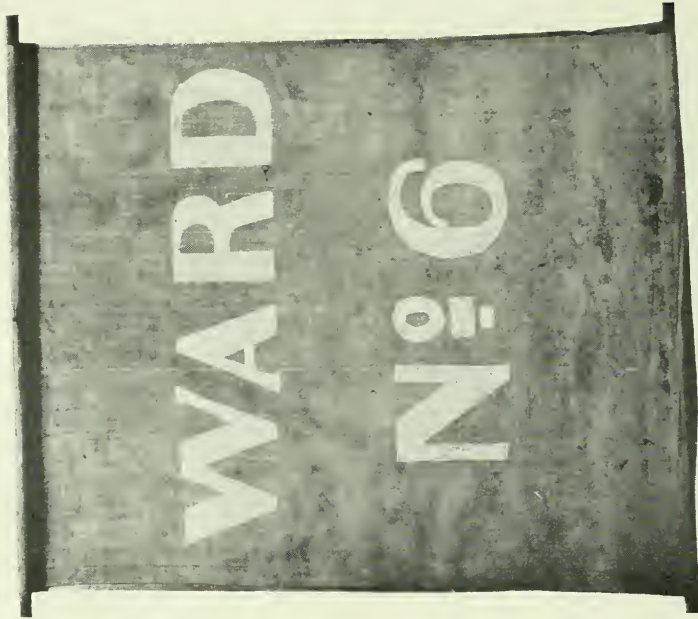
FOURTH WARD BANNER

(Reverse)

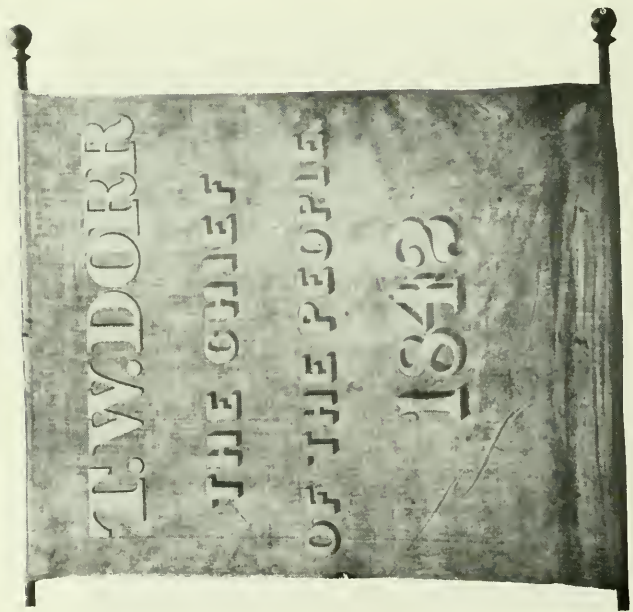


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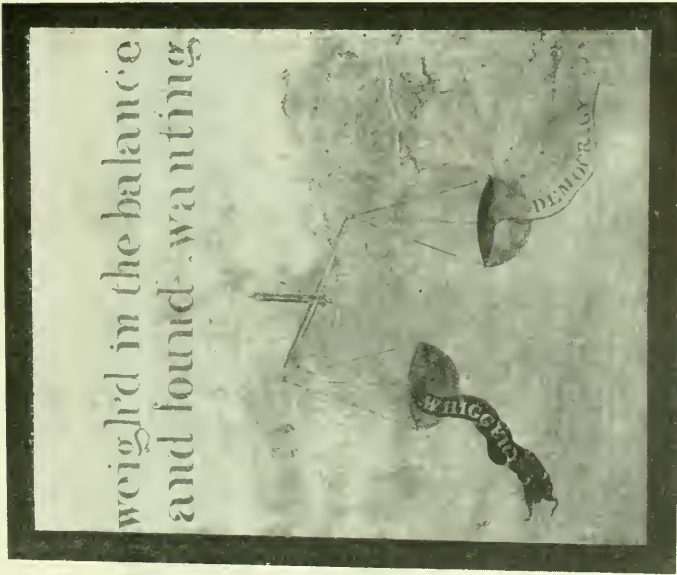
FIFTH WARD BANNER



(Reverse)



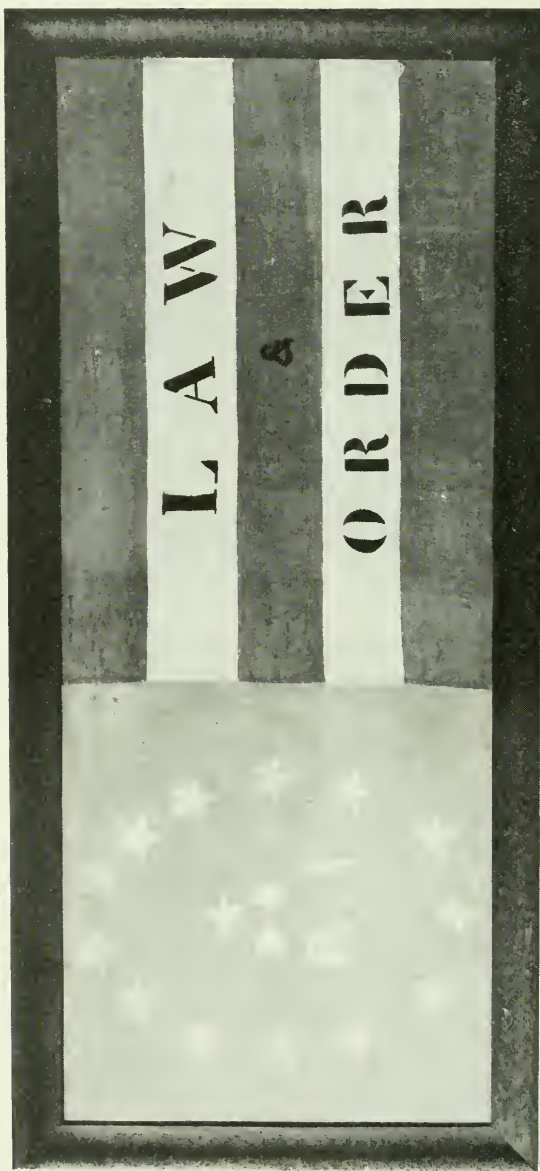
SIXTH WARD BANNER



(The reverse side carried no design)



(The reverse side carried no design)



DORR WAR BANNER

Rhode Island Historical Society Treasurer's Report

INCOME ACCOUNT FOR YEAR 1931

RECEIPTS

Annual Dues	\$2,770.00
Dividends and Interest	5,401.44
Rental of Rooms	105.00
State Appropriations	1,500.00
	<hr/>
	\$9,776.44

EXPENDITURES

Binding	\$ 577.40
Books	706.97
Electric Light and Gas	46.17
Exhibitions	159.41
Expense	248.70
Grounds and Building	87.41
Heating	700.00
Newspaper	32.35
Publications	1,041.04
Salaries	5,580.00
Supplies	330.57
Telephone	63.95
Water	8.00
	<hr/>
	\$9,581.97
Surplus Income Account	194.47
	<hr/>
	\$9,776.44

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1931

ASSETS	
Grounds and Building	\$ 25,000.00
Investments:	
BONDS	
\$4,000. Cedars Rapids Mfg. & Power Co., 5s, 1953	\$3,228.88
3,000. Central Mfg. District	3,000.00
3,000. Cleveland Elec. Illum. Co., 5s, 1939	2,565.42
1,000. Commonwealth Edison Co., 5s, 1943	965.25
4,000. Dominion of Canada, 5s, 1952	4,003.91
1,000. Western Electric Co., 5s, 1944	998.17
4,000. 61 Broadway Building, 1st Mtge., 5½s, 1950	4,000.00
4,000. Minnesota P. & Lt. Co., 1st, 5s, 1955	3,930.00
4,000. Monongahela Valley Traction Co., 1st 5s, 1942	3,685.00
2,000. Ohio Pwr. Co., 1st and Ref. 5s, 1952	1,974.00
2,000. Narragansett Co., 5s, 1947	1,980.00
2,000. Shell Union Oil Corp., 5s, 1947	1,979.00
2,000. Koppers Gas & Coke Co., 5s, 1947	1,962.50
1,000. Indianapolis Power & Lt. 1st, 5s, 1957	994.50
1,000. Texas Power & Lt. 1st Ref. 5s, 1956	1,021.25
1,000. Pennsylvania R. R. Deb. 4½s, 1970	922.50
STOCKS	
54 shs. New York Central Railroad Co.	\$3,766.47
125 shs. Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	7,638.35
30 shs. Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.	2,112.50
7 shs. Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Co.	235.39
40 shs. Milwaukee Elec. Ry. & Lgt. Co., Pfd.	3,900.00
64 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,960.05
350 shs. Providence Gas Co.	5,755.68
15 shs. Providence National Bank	} 1,800.00
30 shs. Merchants' National Bank Bldg. }	
45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank	1,050.00
52 shs. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co., Com.	6,247.85
20 shs. American Power & Light	1,696.50
30 shs. Standard Gas & Electric 4s, Pfd.	1,906.50
35 shs. Public Service of N. J. 5s, Pfd.	3,327.63
10 shs. Public Service of N. J. 5s, Cum. Pfd.	990.00
10 shs. Electric Bond and Share 5s, Pfd.	922.00
	84,519.30
Cash on hand	4,539.57
	\$114,058.87

LIABILITIES

Equipment Fund		\$ 25,000.00
Permanent Endowment Fund:		
Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000.00	
Henry J. Steere	10,000.00	
James H. Bugbee	6,000.00	
Charles H. Smith	5,000.00	
George L. Shepley	5,000.00	
Charles W. Parsons	4,000.00	
Edwin P. Anthony	4,000.00	
William H. Potter	3,000.00	
Esek A. Jillson	2,000.00	
John Wilson Smith	1,000.00	
William G. Weld	1,000.00	
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000.00	
Charles H. Atwood	1,000.00	
John F. Street	1,000.00	
Franklin Lyceum Memorial	734.52	
		<hr/> 56,734.52
Publication Fund:		
Robert P. Brown	\$ 2,000.00	
Ira P. Peck	1,000.00	
William Gammell	1,000.00	
Albert J. Jones	1,000.00	
William Ely	1,000.00	
Julia Bullock	500.00	
Charles H. Smith	100.00	
		<hr/> 6,600.00
Book Fund		3,012.41
Life Membership		5,550.00
Reserve Fund		1,015.37
Revolving Publication Fund		606.27
Surplus		13,766.62
Surplus Income Account		1,773.68
		<hr/> \$114,058.87

Respectfully submitted,

G. A. HARRINGTON,
Treasurer.

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1931

RECEIPTS

Edwin P. Anthony	\$4,000.00
John F. Street	1,000.00
Reserve Fund	402.10
Revolving Publication Fund	69.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,471.10
Balance January 1, 1931	1,650.54
	<hr/>
	\$7,121.64

PAYMENTS

Electric Bond and Share, \$5.00 Pfd., 10 shares	\$ 922.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Deb. 4½s, 1970	922.50
Public Service Corp. of N. J., 10 shares	990.00
Texas Light & Power 1st Ref. 5s, 1956	1,021.25
Reserve	500.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,355.75
Balance December 30, 1931	2,765.89
	<hr/>
	\$7,121.64

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



E. A. JOHNSON Co.

PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXV

JULY, 1932

No. 3

JAN 14 1933



Henry Marchant

HENRY MARCHANT'S BOOKPLATE

See page 89

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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W. A. ...
June 10, 1902
11

RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXV

July, 1932

No. 3

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Lands of Portsmouth, R. I., and
a Glimpse of Its People

By EDWARD H. WEST

When the original settlers laid out the first settlement, Pocasset, they immediately made laws governing the size and location of the house lots. When we look back at them and see the kind of men they were, then follow their laws, as they made them, it does not seem possible that they were men who, before coming over here, owned very little land and had very little to do with government; besides, many of them had no education. Of course, there were men qualified to lead but they could not always agree or there would not have been a split-up the first year.

The land laws are what we are most interested in at this time. The "Records of the Island of Rhode Island" is a well preserved book and is the first book that they used. In it is the "Compact" signed by the 23 original settlers. There also are the first laws made by them. On the 20th, 3rd mo. 1638—"It is ordered and agreed upon that every man's allotment recorded in this Book shall be sufficient evidence for him and his, rightly to possess and enjoy."

One month later they considered the price, "Whereas there be divers, as well inhabitants as Freemen, who have taken up certain proportions of Land in the Island of Aquidneck: It is ordered that they shall pay in lieu thereof 2 shillings for every acre that they do enjoy and so the like sum to be paid of all such who shall be hereafter admitted as Inhabitant in to the Island: And it is ordered that their monies shall be paid, the one half presently and the other half at three months end, and it is further ordered that those who shall pay in their monies shall bring in a note unto the Company under the treasurers hand, his name and lands then to be registered in the Records, according to a former order."

On the 5th of the 9th mo. 1638: "It is ordered that Mr Sanford and Mr Jeffries shall lay out the house-lots for the Town, three acres to each house, to those not yet provided for; and it was further ordered that those who were upon the first discovery (and freemen) shall be provided according to six acres a houselot as near to their houses as conveniently can be."

In time they outgrew the one book, for at the General Court of March 1641:—"It is ordered that each town shall provide a Town Book, wherein they shall Record the Evidences of the Land: and shall also have power to give forth a copy thereof, which shall be a clear evidence for them and theirs to whom it is so granted. Also at this same court was established the:—

"Tenure of the Lands of Aquidneck: It is ordered, established and decreed, unanimously, that all men's properties

in their lands of the Island and the jurisdiction thereof, shall be such and so free, that neither the State nor any person or persons shall intrude into it, to deprive him of anything whatsoever, that is, or shall be within that or any of the bounds thereof, and this Tenure and Proprietary of his therein, shall be continued to him or his, or to whomsoever he shall assign it for ever."

After a while it was found that many men had never had their land recorded, and as some of it had changed hands, and the former owners gone away without giving deeds, some of the owners were not sure that they owned their land; so at the General Court held at Newport, 13th of the 1st mo. 1644 they passed the following law: "It is ordered, that for as much as according to divers orders by General Court formerly made, That all such lands as were granted to any, they should be recorded in the State Book, which should be their evidence to perpetuity, and it now appearing to this present Court that much land has been granted unto divers persons who have made sales thereof, and have since gone away, or departed from the jurisdiction, so that the original Records cannot be in due form made: Be it now established and decreed by the Court and the authority hereof, that all who have made or shall make purchase of any such lands, and shall sufficiently evince either by writing, bargain, contracts, or other testimony of the purchase of any such land or lands before one Judge of the Court and the Clerk of the Peace: that then the secretary shall have full power to record the said lands in the State Book to the purchaser; and in his name then holding the said land, which record shall be authentic to him or them, their heirs, executors or assigns, as if the said land had been originally granted, and according to that Trust in all points observed."

At a Town Meeting, held at Portsmouth, 5 Jan. 1660, five men were chosen to order all highways belonging to the town and to see them all recorded, they to be paid three shillings apiece for each day's service.

At a Town Meeting held at Portsmouth, 9th July 1660, all laws in the State Book were taken up and ordered to be copied in the New Book: "It is further ordered where as there is a book already procured which we now call by the name of the Book of Land Evidence, the said book shall be kept only for that use, for evidencing of lands therein, and that those orders in the State Book, concerning the tenure and evidencing of lands shall also be recorded therein.

"And for as much as there may be an appearance of danger of having the said book lost by having it kept in a remote place, and for the prevention of which danger it is also ordered that the said book is left to be kept at the house of Mr William Baulston untill the town take further order about it." William Baulston kept a public house at that time.

At this time we shall see what care those men took of their records. At a General Court of Elections, Portsmouth, May 1647: "Be it enacted by these present Assemblie, that the General Recorders Office shall be in generall, to have a Coppie of all the Records or Acts of the Generall Assemblie, Generall and particular Courts of Judicature, Rolles of the Freemen of the Colonie, Records, Sales, and Bargains of Land, Wills and Testaments, and order of the Townsmen touching the Intestate, Records of the Limitts and Bounds of Towns, their Highways, Driftways, Commons and Fencing, Privileges and Liberties. And for as much as matters of greater concernment ought to be kept and preserved with the greatest vigilance; Be it enacted that the Generall purchases, (which are all we can show for our right to our Lands, and the Charter, which is that which gives us who are Subjects, right to exercise authority one over another) be kept in a strong chest, having four several Locks annexed thereto, and that each Town keep a key thereof, that so, as there is a common right and intrest therein, there may be no access unto them in a divided way, (lest also they be divided), but with a common consent. And let it further be enacted, that this chest be kept in the

safest place in the Colonie: and the Generall Recorder, also, should have the key to the Room in which it is placed." R. I. Col. Records.)

The General Recorder still keeps the key, as those who have used those records know.

At the start of the settlement the lots were ordered to be a certain size and the measurements were given. Later the grants read, so many acres "more or less, according to quality." The quality of the land governing the size of the lot. I have not found any lots that were less than the stated amount but in some cases the amount given was twice the number of acres granted.

Many grants were never recorded and I found mention of them as being the bounds of the adjoining land.

Some deeds are accompanied by depositions of men who knew of the earlier transactions. In one case I found a deed given by the son of a man who died before the sale was completed.

In 1644 it was agreed that only the freemen who were purchasers had power to dispose of the land. At the same meeting it was agreed that all undivided land, north of the Mill Swamp footpath, was to remain to the town forever.

In 1657 it was voted to dispose of 200 acres of land to any who wanted it, but it was later decided to add 100 acres more as the divisions would be too small. There was another division in 1693, while in 1713 practically all the commons were laid out, the highways straightened and the town was finished.

Since then very few new highways have been laid out, the Turnpike being the only new one of any importance. The others have been developed with the cutting of large estates into building lots.

In 1640 there was an agreement about the Line between Newport and Portsmouth: "The sd line to begin half a mile beyond the Sachuest River, on the south east side of the Island and so in a straight line to run to the nearest point of the Brook to the Hunting Wigwam, now standing

in the highway between the two towns, and so by that line to run to the north side of the Island.”

In 1656 there was granted 70 acres to Bartholomew West, in behalf of William Almy, near the line. This land did not extend to the line, so when Newport granted land in that section, it was run to the land of Bartholomew West. At a Town Meeting, 5 Jan. 1660, it was voted to appoint a committee to meet at the house of the said Bartholomew, and lay out, with men sent by Newport, the Line as recorded. This was done and the line was run in its original location. The land granted by Newport was left to the grantee but the purchase price of the land in Portsmouth was to be given to the town of Portsmouth.

As we all know, the first settlement was at the Spring. It has always been my supposition that the reason for settling here, aside from the fresh water, was that the land was more easily cleared, although I have found record of a wood-lot. As more people came to the Island, and it was found that land in other parts was better for agriculture, this section was gradually acquired by several men.

The Town of Portsmouth was started soon after the first settlement; in fact, part of the first settlement was included in the town. Some of the house lots around Bristol Ferry were among the first grants. As finally laid out, the town extended as far south as Sprague Street and from the east shore to the west road.

In the center of the land between the East Road and the West Road is a brook which runs into the Town Pond. This was called the Town Swamp, and in the list of highways in 1661 the swamp is mentioned as being 25 rods wide at the end toward the Town Pond, 33 rods about the middle and 11 rods at the end by Mr. Briggs. There was an unrecorded highway running along this brook. At the first it probably ran from Wind Mill hill, but Daniel Wilcox fenced the south end of it. There was a jury engaged in investigating this apparent steal, and although there were a number of depositions saying there had always been a highway there,

the jury could find no record of it in the list of highways and so Daniel was allowed to keep this land.

Gradually the whole highway was granted to abutting land owners. The water of this brook was probably used in the homes, and I suppose the highway was closed to keep the cattle out of the brook. At the junction of the roads was a watering place, which, in 1713, was laid out as a public place for the washing of sheep and a watering place for the benefit of the town.

To the east of this place is a level tract of 4 acres which was granted to Stephen Brayton in 1713. This land was known before that time as the "Training Place."

At the head of the Town Pond is a tract known as the Baulston Homestead. It was here that William Baulston had his public house, which was the place where the Book of Land Evidence was ordered to be kept.

On the west shore of the pond were the houses of Lott Strange and of John Anthony. In 1656 they were granted a right to dig a ditch, seven or nine feet wide, from the pond to the dry land before the house of Goodman Strange, "for the bringing up of any goods more conveniently. This permission was needed as there was a road, until 1715, around the shore to Bristol Ferry.

Just above the ferry is the 3 acre lot that Richard Searl sold to Mary Paine, afterward the wife of John Tripp, for a pint of wine. This sale took place, according to a deposition made by William Collinge in 1666, at the house of William Baulston. We may suppose that Mary Paine was a bar-maid in William Baulston's public house, and that Searl, who was a very early settler, had become tired of the place and was willing to sell out for one more drink. Although he gave no deed, the Town Council ratified the sale, and the land was used by John Tripp for the site of his ferry house.

In 1719 the land to the south of the ferry was ordered to be kept open for the convenience of the public in importing and transporting horses, cattle, sheep, wood, etc.

The 3 and 6 acre lots were on the east side of the road to the ferry. They set back from the present road, and the land between the lots and the road was granted in 1693 and 1713.

The first road we come to on the right, Stoney Lane, is mentioned in the 1661 list of highways as "between Richard Bordens and Mistress Harts is a driftway 2 rodd 5 foot."

About 65 rods south of this there was a lane to the watering place, mentioned in the 1661 list as the "lane between Samuel Wilson and Job Hawkins." This was called Hawkins Lane; on the north side was the house of Richard Hawkins, whose wife, Jane, was the friend of Anne Hutchinson. Their land was given to their son, Job Hawkins, who sold it in 1660 and went back to Boston. I have found no further record of him until 1683, when it appears that he had returned to Portsmouth, a town charge. In the treasurer's report there are several items of expense for his care, and finally there is 3 shillings 6 pence for a winding sheet and 4 pence for a half pint of rum for the watchers. In the 1713 grants, part of this lane was granted to John Anthony and the rest of it to John Keese, the then abutting land owners.

Along the shore was the "Long Meadow," acquired of several grantees by Samuel Wilbur. At the mouth of the brook was the "Round meadow" of John Porter.

This brook was called the First Brook in 1643 when Robert Ballou was granted 10 acres. Today it is known as Willow Brook, but I prefer the name mentioned in 1659, "Little Silver." Does your idea of those first settlers picture them as people who would give a brook such a name as that?

Going down the west road, known in 1717 as the Kings High Road, we come to another brook. This must have been very much larger in the early days, as it was then known as the Mill River or sometimes as the Two Mill River. On the bank of this river, nearly down to Freeborn's

Creek, stood the mill of James Sands and Samuel Wilbur, the land being granted for it in 1642. William Freeborn purchased it in 1655 and it remained in that family until after 1800. John Tyler also had a mill on this stream. South of the river, in the center of the tract, was the "Great Lot" of Randall Holden. Somewhat back from the road stood the house of John Cory, at whose house the Town Council met, and even after his death the meetings were called "at the house of the widow Cory."

Continuing along this road we come to what is now the property of the U. S. Government. This was part of the 240 acre grant to William Baulston. There is a small stream running through it on which stood the mill, built by George Lawton in 1648. There was also a way left to this stream to give access to a watering place.

The highway that we passed was laid out in 1683 as "highway 2 rods wide beginning at the sea side on the west side of the Island at the head of William Freeborn's lot and so to run that breadth to the Common at the head of the land laid out to Ralph Earl, dec." In 1717 it was ordered a driftway down to the sea or salt water, "for the benefit of His Majesties subjects to Pass and repass through, both for cattle, horses, carts, wagons or any carriage or creature whatsoever."

Somewhere on the next large farm there is a spot mentioned at a Town Meeting of 16 April 1657: "It is consented unto by vote that Thomas Shrieve hath liberty to sett down for the present upon that house plott that John Porter hath given him liberty to sett down for the present, upon his wife's peaceable and good behaviour towards her neighbors: untill he can more conveniently provide for himself or the town take further orders. Mr William Baulston, Philip Sherman and Mr John Briggs are appointed to speake with Shrieves wife and William Charles and George Lawtons wife and to give them the best advice and warning for their own peace and the peace of the place."

Next we come to the Wading River on which stood the mill of George Lawton, who was granted 40 acres "when he hath built a sufficient mill for Mr. Baulston." Most of his land was on the east side of the road, he having only enough for a mill and his house on the west side.

As we cross this river, let us stop and think back to a Town Meeting held on the 25th of April, 1672: "Whereas this Town stands Indicted in the General Court of Tryalls for the deficiency of the Bridg on the Common nere Georg Lawton's house: The Towne Conceive that Bridg is Occasioned by the said Georg Lawton makeing a damm there: and therefor doe conceive he Ought to Maintain the said Bridg: Therefor the Towne doe Order that two men be chosen by the Towne to go to the said George Lawton and in the Townes behalf desire him to make the said Bridg Suffitent, or otherwise leave the highway in the like Condition it was before he made that damm." The persons chosen were Robert Dennis and Sajant Jacob Mott.

Evidently the committee did not make a favorable report at the meeting held 14 Oct. 1672 because "The Towne doe now Order that men be againe sent to him to Signefy that they are not Satisfied that a Bridg Should Continew in the Towne Soe dangerous. and that if he doe not take Some Speedy Course to mend it. and to make it in a safe Condition for people to pase and Repase. the Towne will be forced to take Some other Course therein which they Rather desire may be prevented."

Back of George Lawton's was the 100 acre grant to Thomas Cornell. South of this, Edward Hutchinson had a grant of 100 acres, also; while Joshua Coggeshall acquired all the land south of that as well as the Hutchinson grant. But Joshua did not stop there; some of his land was in Newport, and even today some of it is owned by his descendants.

Turning through the road to the east we will stand upon the bridge, called in 1713 the New Bridge, as the west end of this road was not cut through until then. To the north is

Wading River Swamp, while north of that is the Round Swamp. Here, also, was the farm of Thomas Cornell, called the Circuit Farm.

On the south are the grants to William James, Hugh Parsons, John Cranston, Nicholas Brown, John Room and others. Farther east, before the days of the man-made ponds of today, was the farm of Thomas Lawton, called the Hunting Swamp Farm.

Continuing along this road we come to the site of the Southern School House, where the widow Sarah Strange took up her residence after the death of her husband; for at a Town Meeting in 1746, she and her family were ordered out, so that the school house might be improved in the use for which it was built. Was she an early Communist, demanding that public buildings be thrown open for the people?

Let us now turn down the Newport path until we come to a road, nearly to the line, which was laid out in 1713. Turning east through this road we come to what has been for many years known as Wapping Road. This road was mentioned in the list of 1661, and ran between many of the large farm grants. In the 1717 list of highways mention is made of the "Great Rock" near the line, a great mass of pudding stone.

The farms here belonged to Bartholomew West, Samuel Hutchinson, and John Sanford. On the west side of the road was the Long Swamp farm of Thomas Lawton, made up of several grants which he purchased of the grantees. On the east side was the farm of Thomas Burton, granted in 1640, to run from the middle of the first water south of the second sandy point to the middle of the fourth water. In 1648, in a grant to Thomas Cook, mention is made of Mr. Burton's ferry. I have never been able to find any other mention of this ferry. I suppose it was probably the first ferry to Fogland. Turning east through a former road we come to Sandy Point farm, first granted to William Aspinwall, and after he left, to Edward Hutchinson.

We will now take a cart path to the north, passing the grants, on the right, to Ralph Cowland, Giles Slocum, John Cranston and Thomas Cook. We now come to what has been called for many years, the Glen. This was granted to William Brenton but was acquired by Giles Slocum, who built a fulling mill on the bank of the stream.

North of this was the farm of William Brenton, called by him Middleford Farm. There was a broad approach to this farm, for, in the 1661 list of highways it says, "the way to Mr. Brentons farm from the Newport path is 20 rods broad."

Returning to the Newport path we come to a brook, now called Mint Water Brook, which crosses the road and runs into what was known in 1657 as Briggs Swamp, when Phillip Sherman was granted 30 acres here. To the north of this, on the east side of the road, was more of Phillip Sherman's land, in what was known as Birch Swamp. Here, also, was the land of William Almy, who fenced in the road to the watering place and was compelled by the court to open it again.

Turning to the west, we go up Stub Toe Lane and come to a swamp on the north side of the lane, that is mentioned in the records from 1649 to 1728. It seemed to be a sort of a land-mark and was called in nearly every case "Solentary Hole." The name still fits the place.

Turning to the right, we come to Watch Hill. On the corner of Mill Lane, a road cut through in 1713, was a piece of land left to the town in the 1713 grants. On it was a watch house, although at that time it was in a dilapidated condition. Later on this land was used for a wind mill with the understanding that: "Provided that in time of war the town be not restricted . . . in building a watch house thereon for the defence and safety of the said town."

At the end of this road we come to the old Quaker Meeting House. This land was granted in 1659 to William Cadman, sold to Robert Fish in 1688, and a half acre of it sold by him in 1708 to the "people sometimes called in scorn,

Quakers, the land on which stands the meeting house" which makes the building date before that time.

We are now at the top of Quaker Hill. Let us look in all directions, as the view from here is of the best. To the southwest is a large stretch of rolling land, some of it swampy, the center portion of which was granted, to several men, as early as 1648. The land bordering on the east, south and west sides was not granted until 1713, while that on the north end was granted earlier.

In 1692, Robert Hodgson sold 2 rods of land and a house, on the south side of the road running west from the meeting house, to the Quakers. This was probably their first church. They sold it to Joseph Morey in 1700, which was probably the date of building the present church.

To the northwest is part of the Mill Swamp, land granted quite early. Here were the grants of John Hall, George Parker, William Hall and William Havens. Just back of the Quaker land there was a mill dam.

Southeast of us were the grants to Thomas Slow, George Lawton, his brother, Thomas Lawton, and William Wodell. This land was acquired by Thomas Lawton.

Northeast were the grants of Edward Wilcox, Thomas Spicer and Thomas Emmons. These were all acquired by William Wodell.

Let us look down the hill and try to picture the story as told by Daniel Lawton, 25 September, 1664, at the inquest on the body of Thomas Brownell: saying "yesterday in the afternoon, Mr Thomas Brownell, being at Thomas Lawton's house, Mr Brownell asked the deponent whether he would ride toward Portsmouth town along with him, the deponent answered he would. So they both rode together, and when they were going down the hill at the head of William Wodells ground, Mr Brownell put his horse on a gallop afore the deponent, whereupon the deponent also put his horse and presently out ran Mr Brownell and got afore him, and so continued on his gallop some distance before he looked back to see where Mr Brownell was, then

he spied his horse running alone out of the way into the swamp, whereupon the deponent forth with, not mistrusting eminent danger to the man ran and turned the horse and brought him into the way where presently he saw Mr Brownell lying on the ground, and the deponent called but none answering he let the horse go and went up to him and took him by the arms, whereby and also by the efusion of blood from him on the ground he perceived the sayed Brownell was dead." The verdict of the coroner's jury was: "We find by evident signs and appearances, as a very great efusion of blood, and the reins of his bridle being broken and lying near to where he lay, as also an aparent sign of a stroke on a tree near where he lay and some blood and hairs sticking on said tree. That the said Brownell came to his death by riding furiously down the hill, was thrown or cracked against said tree and his skull broke and to the best of our understanding his brains came out."

We will now go down the hill to Freeborn's Lane, known in 1644 as the Mill Swamp Foot Path. Turning through here to the New Lane, laid out in 1694, we find a small hill, called at that time "Apes Hill"; the reason for this name being buried with the people of that time. The land from a thousand feet west of this land was not granted until 1694 and some of it not until 1713.

I will now read parts of some depositions, showing that the difference in the people of then and now is not as great as one would think. This is about a man who lived on Freeborn Lane.

Joseph Johnson - - - "Testifieth that he being at the house of Benjamin Hall - - - did ask said Hall's wife for a gill of rumm, and the said Halls wife replied that she had no lisenche to sell but never the less she would let him have a gill of rum & the rum was brought & when sd Johnson was about to go away he asked what was to pay for the rum, but sd Halls wife being gone to ride out, left change with her younger brother to take pay for the rum & likewise the boy did take pay for the rum - - -"

Be fore me Giles Slocum Assistant.

Andrew Peters, late of Newport - - - - - testifieth to the truth of the above written evidence.

Before me Giles Slocum Assistant.

But here is another one.

“Andrew Peters - - - - testifieth - - - - being at the house of Wm. Brightman - - - - came Joseph Johnson and would have the above sd Peters go along with him then sd Peters said he could not go with Johnson & then abovesd Johnson told sd Peters he would give him a treat & nine shillings in money and ye sd Thomas Cornell had hired sd Johnson to gitt one to goe with Johnson to see who Johnson could gitt drink of - - - - then sd Peters went with Johnson to one house and asked for a dram & there was two women and a boy one of them women replies they did not sell drink nor had they any lisens to sell so them two women got on a horse & rod away then Johnson asked the boy for rum and made him fetch two gills and Johnson gave the boy one piece of money but who that boy and them two women was or what their names was sd Peters doth not know - - - - sd Peters & Johnson went to ye above Cornells house next morning came Giles Slocum then Johnson & Slocum did whisper together then sd Slocum writt something but what it was sd Peters do not know nor never knew and further ye sd Peters took no ingagement to any writting that Giles Slocum writ and further saith not.

Taken upon oath Sept. 9th day 1709

Benjamin Hall Justice.”

On the opposite side of the road is the place called South-side; on the plat made in the year 1726 and now in the Town Clerks office, it is called New Town. This section was first mentioned in 1693, being bounded by the land of the widow Lay on the north and by the land in the possession of Nicholas Brown on the south. It was cut up in a number of very small divisions and the grants dragged over a number of years. This land did not carry a freehold with it;

that is, the grantee, if he owned no other land, was not entitled to land in any other division of the commons.

Turning up the road on the left we come to Wind Mill Hill, now called Butt's Hill. In the first records this is called Brigg's Hill. There was probably a wind mill erected here very early. In July, 1667, the governor gave orders for the erecting of a beacon on Mill Hill.

Just above this road is the smallest grant on record, aside from those in South Side, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to Benjamin Chase of Tiverton.

We have now come to the east side of the town. Not only were there 3 and 6 acre lots but also 2 and 4 acre lots. I have found no change in the laws or any information about this.

Here among others were the lots of John Briggs, John Hall, Old John Mott, Thomas Jennings, Henry Percy, William James, John Archer and many others.

There were also a few small house lots on the east side of the road. In this section was the land that Richard Hart sold in 1664 to Peter Tallman "by Turf and Twig," this being one of the few instances of this mode of sale mentioned in the records.

In the settlement of the estate of Anthony Paine, widow Rose Paine deeded 8 acres of land to Lott Strange. Underneath the copy of this deed is written, "This deed with the above mentioned land I doe surrender to thee John Keese and thine from me Lott Strange."

It was here that Anthony Emory kept his public house. Anthony had a well in the highway into which a drunken Indian fell one night and was drowned. Anthony was indicted but the case was dismissed when he filled the well up. The Indian, called by the English, Sam, was from Mount Hope and was found dead 17 July, 1670. Among the Indians testifying at the inquest were Tom Dumplin and the Indian Squaw wife to the Sachem Phillip.

She testified that she heard Sam and Tom Dumplin have many angry words together, the Sachem Sam saying to Tom "go and fetch me a quart of drink" and Tom answered

“no I will not - - -” “I also heard Tom Dumplin telling Sam he was always angry with him and bore him a grudge for that he the said Sams father had formerly Burnt Toms fathers and Brothers house and had also cutt his Brothers hair.”

Peter Tallman acquired much of the land in this section, some of which he made over to Joan Briggs before they were married. Peter must have been a nice neighbor, for several times he was under bonds to keep the peace, and at Court in 1688, Martha Lay, the wife of Edward Lay, testified that she was “still in fear of her life of Mr Tallman and feared that some time he would murder her.”

Edward Lay purchased his land in 1661 of Daniel Wilcox, who reserved one rod, where his wife was buried.

Here also was the home of Captain Richard Morris, who acquired his land of several grantees but sold it all to Peter Tallman.

Next we come to the road to Sanford's ferry. In 1661 this was a driftway $3\frac{1}{2}$ rods wide.

In 1734 a committee was appointed to inspect the records relating to part of this highway. They reported, “we find the ancient records so much defased and torn that they are all together unintelligible.”

This next section of land was used for meadow land. I have found no record of any house ever having been built upon it. These grants were small: Samuel Hutchinson owning 6 acres on the corner and next to him was the 3 acre lot of John Sanford, then 3 acres belonging to Adam Mott and next to that was the 3 acre lot of Thomas Spicer. This was called Spicer's meadow many years after he had sold it. Next came 6 acres belonging to William Freeborn. In the recording of this land it says by “grant and purchase from others.” Who the others were is not recorded. Then came the Barn meadow of William Baulston. Between these last two meadows there was a highway, 4 rods wide, down to the brook. This was fenced in before Thomas Durfee acquired the land from his father-in-law, Gideon Freeborn,

and the town council ordered it opened up again. This was not done for many years.

Opposite the Barn meadow was the 4 acre house lot of Thomas Burton "on the hillside," granted at the same time as his farm.

Turning by the Baulston Homestead we will take the road to Anthony's Ferry. On the left is a driftway to Sanford's Ferry that runs through the Calfs Pasture.

On the right is the first house lot of William Brenton, butting upon the Town Pond. We have now come to the site of the original settlement, where the lots ran from the Great Cove.

On the north is the North or Claypit Field; in front of us is the "Muskito" Marsh. North of this marsh is the Flag Pond, while beyond that is the plat now called Common Fence Point, which was granted to William Brenton in 1640, being 60 to 64 acres.

As we reach Anthony's Ferry we see what is now called the Hummock but what was called in the early records, the Great Rock or Great Rocky Hill.

William Almy was granted 8 acres in the southern part and sold it to Richard Bulgar in 1646. More of it was granted to Richard, but not the extreme southern end. This was called Samuel Hutchinson's Hummock, but I can find no trace of its ever being granted to him. Samuel Hutchinson never had any of his land recorded during his lifetime, but when his will was recorded, many small records of his land dealings were recorded, too.

Richard Bulgar cut a road of 2 rods in width to the west of the Great Rock and gradually sold part of his land. His first sale was to Richard Hart in 1659. This passed to Peter Tallman and then to Thomas Durfee, who finally acquired most of the point, which was spoken of in the old records as the south east corner of the place called the Common Fence.

Joseph Anthony purchased 2 acres in 1674, and in 1681 he was granted by the Town 45 rods on the east side of

Rocky Hill, from the Towns Common. The beach at this point is declared in the 1717 list of highways to be Town property and so to remain for the use and benefit of the public for importing and transporting horses, sheep, etc.

The following letter to the Town Council shows that Richard had his troubles after Thomas Durfee moved to his new land.

“Honorable

“the Complaint of Richard Bulgar that he demandeth protection and Redress gainst drunken Indians who in their drunkness broke down my fence in several places passing between John Simmons his house and Thomas Durfee where they had their drink: So that my Self being at the last town meeting: in my absence my wife was forced to bolt herself within the house but Sassapanuitt being drunk with other Indians attempted with throwing of stones break open the door upon her and put her in a very great fright; they taking the wood that lay at my door and throw it about the ground and thus am I lately disturbed by drunken Indians since drink has been sold there so that I cannot be at peace by day nor night and my fence hath been broken down in several places by the Indians to the ground which disturbance I never had till Thomas Durfee sold drink for a Red res of which abuse I hope the Town will take care to prevent for the future ”

So shall I remain ye

friend and servant

Richard Bulgar.

In 1686, Richard Bulgar, then about 74 years of age, made over his remaining land to the town, for the maintenance of himself for life. In the town treasurer's report for the year 1687 are the following items:—“a pint of honey and a pound of figs for old Bulgar 1s.3d. to Joseph Timberlake for the hire of an Indian to tend old Bulgar, 8s., to Matthew Grennell for nails for old Bulgars coffin 6d.”

Let us now climb to the top of the Great Rock and it is a climb, too. There is a grand view from here for we are about 125 feet above the sea. Down the Pocasset River we see Little Compton in the distance, then Punkatest and opposite us the Pocasset Purchase. North of this is Assonet, across the Taunton River is Swansea, then Sowams and Bristol behind us. At all these places Portsmouth men were early land owners.

I have heard it said that the reason for this spreading out in the other towns was the grasping way of an Englishman, striving for more land. I do not agree with this. They had families in those days and had to have land for their sons and the families that were to follow. Read over any of the old wills of the early settlers; this son to have this land, another to have land in some other town "where he now dwells" and so on.

South west of us is Sanfords Cove, in which is the appropriately named Spectacle Island, first mentioned when Samuel Wilbur sold it to Thomas Butts in 1665. Also the 2 acre "neck of land" granted to the same Samuel Wilbur in 1638. There, too, is the "little bay" mentioned by Nicholas Brown, while Easton's Point stands out as it did when those first settlers saw it. Over the land called by John Sanford, Mackpela,* we see the marsh and Gatchell's Pond. Then comes the Neck, on which was built the first meeting house, while right across the mouth of the cove is that point on which Thomas Gorton built his house, the possessor of which was ordered in 1642 to keep the "ferrie."

How many have thought of the cause of the settlement of this town? The leaders, Coddington, Clarke, Coggeshall, Sanford, Wilbur Brenton and many others, were not men

*The only meaning I can find for Mackpela is a Biblical one, *burial place*. (Gen. XXIII-19, XXV-9.) Austin says that John Sanford had a child born in 1640 who died young; possibly this child was buried there although I do not think there ever was a house upon the land. John Sanford had 8 acres here and sold it to Samuel Hutchinson. The exact location can not be found.

who would with one accord leave everything and just start another colony. These men were all settled at Boston, merchants and artisans, some of them members of the General Court. Boston was a growing place so why should they go to a wild country and start another colony?

There came a day when 75 men of the Bay Colony were disarmed because they met and talked about religion in a way not in keeping with the leaders of that place. Who started all this?

A woman, born 300 years too soon, Anne Hutchinson. At her house were held the meetings at which those differences in the religious beliefs were discussed, differences which led to banishment. Many of the men who settled here attended those meetings and all the others were believers in this new doctrine.

What would have happened around here if these meetings had never been held? These men would never have left Boston, practically in a body, as they did. The Island of Rhode Island, bound to have been settled some time, would have had a far different story.

With another class of men, the conditions, which to us seem to lock and interlock and form the government that has worked out so well, would have probably been entirely different.

Plymouth Colony possessed the land westerly to the river; this would have remained in the possession of the Bay Colony, which would probably have claimed the northern part of the state. Connecticut would surely have kept the land to the Narragansett Bay and the islands would have been divided between the colonies.

We of this state should realize what a debt we owe to Anne Hutchinson, for without her there would never have been Rhode Island.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Rhode Island and The Sea by Howard Willis Preston, a pamphlet of 140 pages issued by the State Bureau of Information.

Rhode Island Three Centuries of Democracy by Charles Carroll, in four volumes, illustrated, published by the Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1932.

The Letter Book of Esek Hopkins first commander-in-chief of the United States Navy, 1775-1777, transcribed from the original letter book in the Rhode Island Historical Society and just published by the Society as a volume of 151 pages in a limited edition of only 200 copies.

The Life of George Washington from a Rhode Island Viewpoint, by Thomas F. Cooney is a pamphlet of 29 pages.

Bishop Berkeley, His Life, Writings, and Philosophy by J. M. Hone and M. M. Rossi is a volume of 286 pages printed in London in 1931.

Old Time New England for April, 1932 contains an illustrated article by Daniel Berkeley Updike on the restoration of the colonial altar piece of St. Paul's Church at Wickford, R. I.

Americana for April, 1932, contains an article on *Rhode Island's Contribution to California* by Eileen M. MacMannus.

The New England Quarterly for April, 1932, contains an article on *Richard Partridge, Colonial Agent*, by Marguerite Appleton.

A History of Grace Church in Providence, Rhode Island, 1829-1929, by Henry Barrett Huntington together with an Inventory of Memorials and Funds compiled by John Hutchins Cady, Providence, 1931, 237 pages.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1932, contains an article on the Dickens Family of Block Island by G. Andrews Moriarty.

Education for June, 1931, (p. 605) contains an article on *Samuel Gorton, Champion of Liberty* by J. F. Santee.

Antiques for May, 1932, contains an article on *Another Miniature* by Gilbert Stuart.

Notes

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Charles H. Smith
Mr. Arthur S. Phillips
Mrs. Seeber Edwards
Mr. Stuart M. Aldrich

Mr. Norman A. MacColl
Mrs. William R. Morrison
Mr. Royal Bailey Farnum
Mr. Walter Frederick Dickinson

Roger Williams of Providence not F. R. S.

By WINTHROP TILLEY*

April 22, 1932.

My dear Mr. Chapin:

I am giving below the results of my investigation of the Roger-Williams-a-member-of-the-Royal-Society rumor, as you requested.

According to Birch's *History of the Royal Society*, a Roger Williams was proposed a candidate for the Royal Society by Sir Robert Moray (Murray) at the desire of Sir Paul Neile on January 27, 1663/4; he was elected February 3, and admitted on February 17 of the same year (I 375, 377, 385). The name of Mr. Williams also appears as a member of two committees of the Society, as of March 30 of the same year (I 406-407). The committees were the mechanical and that for the history of trade. Birch also states "Mr. Williams was desired to bring in his observations of the curiosities of England." (I 388. This is in the same year.)

Frederick E. Brasch, writing in the *Scientific Monthly*, (Oct. 1931, p. 343) has assumed that this was the same Roger Williams who founded Providence. Investigation of the matter, however, has led me to the conclusion that it must have been another man of the same name.

So far as is known, the founder of Providence did not leave the American colonies after 1654. A signature of the Williams referred to by Birch, however, appears on the records of the Royal Society. You have told me that this signature, a facsimile of which you have, differs in important respects from any known signatures of the American Roger Williams.

OF PROVIDENCE, 1656

F. R. S. 1664

The men who sponsored the election of Mr. Williams to the Royal Society, Moray and Neile, were intimates of Charles II. It is apparent from a scrutiny of Birch's History for several years prior to 1664 that Neile's chief function as a fellow of the Society was to act as intermediary between the Society and the King. If he had strong scientific interests, the fact does not appear from Birch's account, which is given in considerable detail. Moray who was the "soul" of the Society during its early years, also carried on negotiations with the King. He had scientific interests, but chiefly in the fields of physics and astronomy. The only work on the basis of which the American Roger Williams could have been elected was his "Key," published twenty years before the election in question took place. This work was of philological and ethnological interest, but neither Moray nor Neile seems to have had interests in those fields. Furthermore, the radical political philosophy of the American Roger Williams would have been anything but palatable to Moray and Neile, both staunch and noted Royalists, and the latter the son of an Anglican archbishop.

A scrutiny of the list of the known friends of the American Roger Williams at the time of his residence in England, 1652-4, as given by Dr. James Ernst (RIHS Coll 24:123, 124) and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, fails to

reveal any connections which might have led to his election to the Royal Society.

The Roger Williams who was elected to the Royal Society in 1663/4 seems to have been an obscure individual about whom nothing is known except the fact of his election.

I shall of course be glad to have you make use of any or all of this information, as you see fit.

Yours very truly,

WINTHROP TILLEY.

P. S. I should add also that I examined the correspondence of John Winthrop, Jr., himself a fellow of the Royal Society, without finding any reference to the election of Roger Williams, although he was in correspondence with the American of that name in 1664.

*Mr. Tilley is working on "The Literature of Physical Science in America from the Beginnings to 1765" as a Ph.D. thesis for the Department of English, in Brown University.

Henry Marchant's Bookplate

The bookplate of Henry Marchant is reproduced from an original through the courtesy of Miss Mary A. Harris. Judge Henry Marchant, 1741-1796, was Attorney General, 1771-1777 and a member of the Continental Congress, 1777-1789, and a biography of him appears in Updike's *Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar*, pages 83-89 and in the *Biographical Cyclopedia of Rhode Island*, p. 145. A note accompanying the Marchant coat of arms, which is preserved in the family reads: "William le Marchant—son of Josias; William le Marchant—son of James; Eleazer le Marchant—son of Thomas petitioned for Arms in 1689 as being descendants of Peter le Marchant of the Isle of Guernsey, who lived in the year 1300, and from whom the pedigree is traced down to the above said William, William, and Eleazer, as appears by the Register of Descents in the Herald's office. The arms are *Azure a Chevron or, between 3 owls argent Legs of the second.*"

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No. 4

THE

[No. 2]

Rhode-Island Gazette.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1732.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Edinburgh, July 8.



ESTERDAY died the Rev. Mr. John Grierson, one of the Ministers of the Gospel in this Place, after a long Indisposition. He was a pious good Man, an excellent Preacher, and once Moderator to the General Assembly of this Na-

tional Church.

Whitehall, July 11. This Day arrived an Express from the Earl of Waldgrave, his Majesty's Embassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, with Letters from Mr. Keen, his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Seville, dated July the 4th, N. S. giving an account, that on the 27th of last Month, the Spanish Gallies were got into the Port of

Turks, and Provisions in proportion, to employ the Spaniards all the Month of July before they can make themselves completely Masters of Oran.

London, July 15. There are Letters in Town which say the Spaniards were invited by the Moors into Barbary, which is not unlikely, by reason they carried great Numbers of spare Arms with them. If it be so, the Moors propose to themselves and their Posterity more Peace, Quietness, and lasting Happiness than ever they enjoy'd under their Turkish Governors.

The following Promotions have lately been made in the Flagg of his Majesty's Navy, viz.

Sir Charles Wager, Vice Admiral of the Red, made Admiral of the Blue.

Sir George Walton, Vice Admiral of the White, made Vice Admiral of the Red.

Salmon Morris, Esq; Vice Admiral of the Blue, made Vice-Admiral of the White.

Philip Cavendish, Esq; Rear Admiral of the Red, made Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

John Belcher, Esq; Rear Admiral of the White, made Rear-Admiral of the Red.

Charles Sturges, Rear Admiral of the Blue

THE RHODE ISLAND GAZETTE OF 1732

*From original in the library of the
Rhode Island Historical Society.*

See page 97.

Issued Quarterly

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

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WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Rhode Island Gazette of 1732

By ROBERT W. KENNY

On Wednesday, September 27, 1732, the *Rhode Island Gazette*, the colony's first newspaper, appeared on the streets of Newport. It was probably a modest four page sheet which was "Printed and Sold by James Franklin, at his Printing House under the Town-School-House, where Advertisements and Letters to the Author are taken in." James Franklin, (1696-1735), the first man to bring a printing press to Rhode Island, had settled in Newport sometime in 1726. The *Gazette* was not his first journalistic venture, for he had had a brief, but acrimonious experience as a printer and editor in Massachusetts. Returning to Boston, in March 1717, from his apprenticeship in London, James Franklin had been commissioned by the postmaster, William Brooker, to print the *Boston Gazette*.

After forty numbers had been printed, Philip Musgrave was made postmaster, and to Franklin's dismay he awarded the printing contract to Samuel Kneeland. Taking advantage of the excited condition of Massachusetts over the "inoculation war" Franklin then started the *New England Courant*, August 6, 1721. The merits of inoculation as a preventative of small-pox had divided the colony into two hostile factions, the ministers supporting the practice and the "liberals" opposing it as "unscientific." Under Franklin's editorship the *Courant* became the chief "liberal" organ, and devoted much of its space to attacking the Mathers, Cotton, and Increase, who preached the virtues of inoculation both in and out of the pulpit. The attack must have been a telling one, for Cotton Mather declared the paper to be: "A wickedness never parallel'd anywhere upon the Face of the Earth!"¹

The *Courant* continued its pugnacious course, ever critical of those in authority. In June 1722, Franklin was jailed for charging the colonial officials with negligence in suppressing piracy. In January of the next year the court forbade him to publish his paper unless it was supervised by the Secretary of the Province. In spite of such devices as bringing the paper out in Benjamin's name, the *Courant* did not flourish, and disposing of it sometime in 1726 Franklin brought his printing press and his talent for argument into Rhode Island. In 1727, he began publishing such pamphlets as offered themselves, sermons and the *Rhode Island Almanac*; in 1731 he, as the official printer, put forth part of an edition of the laws of the colony. Although he has been credited with first publishing Bishop Berkeley's *Alciphron* or *The Minute Philosopher*, there is insufficient evidence for this. His known publications of all sorts are listed in *Rhode Island Imprints*, published in 1914.

¹*Diary of Cotton Mather*, Collection of Mass. Hist. Soc. 7 ser. VIII, 1912, 366.

F. Schmitt
A. K. Bock
6/16/33



JAMES FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS

Now in Mechanics Building, Boston, Mass.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has photostatic copies of all numbers of the *Rhode Island Gazette* extant: fifteen in number. Five others are known to have been printed. The first issue, lost unfortunately, must have contained James Franklin's statement of principles, for in Number Five, October 25, 1732, Wm. K—g— writes praising the editor's stand.

“If you suffer no Personal Scandal to have Place in your Paper nor make yourself a Party to any religious Disputes, there will be no Room for Exceptions against you, but what will ly equally against all your Bretheren in this Town, unless you should appear duller than any of them, which yet is no very easy Thing.”

Readers are also warned not to complain if: “the Paper is not always full of important events, which Times of general Peace and Tranquility do not afford.” Lack of seasonable news appeared to be one of the editor's difficulties. Numbers Two and Four of the Gazette contained four pages; it is not unreasonable to presume that Number One did also. The rest however are only two pages each. The frequently printed request of the editor for contributions, and the insertion of foreign news of doubtful interest to Rhode Islanders would seem to indicate that James perhaps regretted his stand for conservative journalism which deprived his sheet of the piquancy which characterized the columns of the *New England Courant*. Foreign news at times occupied more than half the paper; at other times none at all was included. This would seem to point to the non-arrival in Newport of ships with English newspapers. Much space was devoted to the political moves of the Papacy and the Catholic princes on the continent. A letter from a correspondent in Rome to his friend in London, obviously reprinted from an English newspaper, is typical of many. It recounts a project to put the Chevalier de Saint George, the old Pretender, on the throne of a great north African kingdom. The advantages enumerated for this plan are: Another Catholic monarch, a good in itself,

freedom from the attacks of the Barbary pirates, and finally augmentation of the Papal revenues. The tone of this dispatch shows great concern for Protestant supremacy, and several similar pieces would seem to indicate that James Franklin was taking full advantage of the anti-Catholic, anti-Stuart feeling in the colony.

Other foreign items would seem to have been selected on the modern journalistic principle of "human interest": the overturning of a wherry on the Thames with the drowning of a drunken man, a street brawl in Naples between the son of the duke d'Agapello and a German officer, the wondrous soldier of Metz, whose body when opened by a surgeon disclosed 1250 stones of cherries, plums, and apricots, and the death in London of the Flying Man from bruises he received in his attempt to fly from Greenwich steeple.

Of strictly local news the *Gazette* doubtless printed all it could, but there never were more than a half dozen items per issue, and several times none at all. By far the most spectacular event in Newport during the short life of the *Gazette* was the escape, in his wife's clothing, of a convicted murderer:

Yesterday Night, (October 10, 1732) his wife and child going to visit him, after staying about half an Hour, she came to the outward Door of the Prison, and desir'd the Prison-Keeper to lend her a Mugg to fetch some Milk for her Husband; adding, "'Tis no Matter, now I think on't, there's one in the Room with him." Presently after (the Prisoner) having put on his Wife's Cloak and Bonnet, knock'd at the Door; and the Prison-Keeper letting him into the Priviledg'd Room, he walk'd through it in the View of him and several others, who mistook him for his Wife. The Prison Keeper going immediately to lock the Inner Doors, found his Prisoner was gone, and his Wife and Child left in the Room where he was confin'd.

Although the militia was called out and all citizens were ordered by Governor William Wanton to "make Hue and

Cry" the condemned man was not recaptured, at least in so far as the *Gazette* took notice of the affair.

On October 25, the *Gazette*, laconically reported: "We hear that the Rev. George Barkley, Dean of London-Derry, has given his Farm on this Island, worth about £3000, to Yale College in Connecticut." At this time the future bishop was preparing to return to England after his residence of nearly three years in the colony, a residence which was extremely fruitful as far as Newport and Yale College were concerned. It seems a bit surprising that so generous a benefactor should depart from the colony with such scant journalistic notice. These two entries are the high spots of interest among the inevitable death and weather notices. New England people even then were showing that preoccupation with the weather which prompted Mark Twain's jest. In 1732-33, apparently there was considerable justification; for towns up and down the coast reported extremely low temperatures. In Boston the harbor froze so solidly that ox teams were driven over the ice to Charlestown, and people walked down the harbor to Castle Island, at what is now City Point. Philadelphia items reported shipping at a standstill because of the frozen Delaware River. An epidemic of colds which struck the town in the late fall forced the suspension of services at The Church of England and North Congregational Meeting House, both pastors being "very much indisposed." So too was the editor of the *Gazette* who, as Tim Truman, apologizes to his readers for the dullness and flatness of his paper, blaming part of it on the weather.

I have been grievously seized with the late extraordinary Cold, which so took away the Gloss of my Stile, as well as obstructed my Thoughts, that I believe my Readers by this Piece perceive my Disorder, and that I am not altogether come to yet.

The gloss of style was mostly to be seen in essays reminiscent of the *Spectator* and *Tatler* with which Franklin, as Tim Truman, filled the columns of the *Gazette* when little

real news was available. One Cleverkin, William Freeborn of Narragansett, Tom Trueman, N. N. and Wm. K—g— are the principal contributors. Doubtless some of these essays represent genuine reader opinion; it is certainly true, however, that Franklin himself wrote some of them. Wm. K—g— writes so completely and sympathetically of the difficulties of conducting a paper in a small town that one feels justified in ascribing the authorship of his letter to the editor. The narrow circle of readers in the colony, he writes, the paucity of social diversions, and the lack of leisure which prevents readers from interesting themselves in the genteel arts and sciences make the editor's task a difficult one. Literary-minded readers will be prone to compare the *Gazette* with *The Spectator*; the problems of journalism in Rhode Island and London are compared, and Wm. K—g— closes by suggesting that subjects of a political and economic flavor might be better suited to the habits and interests of Newport readers. Several issues later William Freeborn contributes a lengthy panegyric on the excellencies of Rhode Island government:

When I reflect on our happy Condition in this Colony, and the most invaluable Priviledges we enjoy at the easiest and cheapest Rate imaginable, I cannot sufficiently admire the Wisdom and Felicity of our Constitution, nor enough applaud the Discretion and Frugality with which our Affairs have all along been managed.

Rotation of office, absence of slavery and oppression, and the utmost freedom of conscience move William Freeborn to the poetic close:

“Hail, happy native Land! But I forbear
What other Countries must with Envy hear.”

The strictly literary articles in the *Gazette* are highly imitative of current English style. The graceful essayist, Cleverkin, warns against reproving faults in public, and in the manner of Addison brings classical literature to his aid by citing copiously from Seneca and Plutarch. Tom True-

man's ironic defense of Tattling is genteel in the extreme. Tattling is a boon to those he refers to as the fair sex.

Their Work is a Burden to them at Home, but taking it abroad with them, hearing one Story and telling fifty, gives Activity and Dexterity to their Fingers, and adds an exquisite sharpness to their Needles.

The *Gazette* for January 25, 1732, prints a domestic fable from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* signed by Anthony Afterwrit. The author, as a bachelor, was very contented. His present wife was to have a dowry of £200 if her choice of a husband pleased her father. Anthony did not receive the £200, but was happy, nevertheless, until Mistress Afterwrit got a strong inclination to play the gentlewoman. His modest furnishings were discarded, one by one, in favor of much more elegant articles. Anthony feared for his credit among the townspeople; he could not afford such elegance. The good wife going on a visit to some relatives, Anthony sells the new carriage, the mirror, the china, and discharges the maid. Thus his credit is restored, and this letter in the *Gazette* warns his wife to expect, upon her return, to live upon a far more modest scale. The tone of Anthony Afterwrit's preachment is so typical of Poor Richard and his penny-pinching philosophy that it is not surprising to find that Benjamin Franklin was the author. Smythe, in his edition of Benjamin Franklin's works (Vol. XI, p. 182), definitely identifies Afterwrit as Franklin. The brothers had settled their grievances by 1731 and were freely reprinting items from each other's papers. Such borrowing was very common: indeed it appeared to be necessary many times in order to have sufficient material for an issue.

The colony had also two avowed poets. One Will Rusty in octosyllabic couplets, characterized by stamping metre, vented his broad humor in a poem entitled *The Scatterwaters*. The other bard, a gentleman of much more sensibility, preferred to remain anonymous. His theme was love's ravages, and his vehicle was the heroic couplet.

My anxious Hours roll heavily away,
 Depriv'd of Sleep by Night, of Rest by Day:
 My Soul no Respite from her Sufferings knows,
 And sees no End of her eternal Woes.

His mistress is conventionally charged with cruelty and indifference, in contrast to his sentiment to her,

You know my Passion is sincere and true,
 I love you to Excess, you know I do.

Despite this touch of anti-climax Newport's love-struck poet swears eternal loyalty to his love as he closes the lament.

I'll not resign you 'till my latest Breath,
 I'll trace all Danger, run on any Death.

The advertisements and notices of any colonial newspaper have great interest today; those of the *Gazette* are no exceptions. Lotteries appeared to be the commonest means of disposing of real estate, and fourteen such notices appeared in the fifteen numbers of the *Gazette* which have come down to us. The escape of run-away slaves was announced and rewards offered. It was on December 14, 1732, that James Franklin published the *Rhode Island Almanack* for the year 1733, fitted to the meridian of Newport. Notices of its publication had appeared regularly for some weeks preceding its appearance. As his more illustrious brother Benjamin published Poor Richard's Almanac, so authorship of the Rhode Island one was ascribed to Poor Robin. Custom house notices of the arrival and departure of ships give evidence of Newport's thriving maritime trade. The average number of ships clearing the port was seven per week during the life of the *Gazette*. Names prominent in Rhode Island shipping history are thus recorded in the paper: Tillinghast, Brown, Coggeshall, Anthony, Howland, Coffin, Brenton, Rodman and others.

An advertisement which was indicative of the editor's difficulties appeared on January 11, 1733.

No. 13 of this Paper concludes a Quarter. Those who have taken it from the Beginning are desir'd to pay their Money to John Franklin of Boston, or James Franklin of Newport; the Continuance of it depending on punctual Quarterly Payments, or a greater Number of Subscribers.

The paper was in financial straits. Perhaps the venture was too ambitious. At that time all of Newport County numbered but few more than six thousand people. Scarcity of paid advertising, then as now, spelled the doom of many a newspaper. Boston, a far larger community, was supporting two papers at the time with no little difficulty, and the printers there had a considerable amount of political printing to augment their scanty journalistic revenue. The paper was probably well read, but Yankee thrift operated to circulate one copy through many hands; this does not make for prosperous editors. The last number preserved today, Number 20, is dated March 1, 1733, but we know that the *Gazette's* final issue was on May 24th of the same year. James Franklin died in February of 1735, and his wife, an able and ambitious woman, attempted to revive the paper but with no success. Not for more than a quarter of a century was Rhode Island to have a permanent newspaper, and it owed its existence to James Franklin, Jr., son of our pioneer journalist, who in 1758 founded the *Newport Mercury*. The printing press which James Franklin brought with him from England when he set up as a printer in Boston and later brought with him to Newport was preserved for many years in the office of the *Mercury*. In 1790, an attempt was made to sell it for one hundred dollars. The sale was not completed, for no one could verify it as the one on which the illustrious Benjamin had worked while serving his unwilling apprenticeship to his brother James. The press is now on exhibition in Mechanics Hall, Boston.

The *Maryland Gazette* has been selected for comparison with Franklin's paper because both served communities of approximately equal population, Annapolis being nearly

the size of Newport; and like it, a shipping center of importance. The following similarities are noted: Both print much foreign news in default of local items. Both print colonial proclamations in full, both feature letters from readers to the editor, generally on pseudo-literary topics imitative of Addison's *Spectator* papers. The poetry in both is indifferent stuff, generally in heroic couplets. The advertisements in both papers feature runaway slaves, almanacs, and lotteries. For crispness of style the Rhode Island paper is not inferior to the southern one. The failure of the *Gazette* was regrettable, but in all fairness we may conclude that the times and not James Franklin were out of joint.

References

The originals of the *Rhode Island Gazette* are located as follows: Rhode Island Historical Society: No. 2.

Massachusetts Historical Society: Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13.
Mr. Edward A. Sherman: Nos. 15, 17, 19, 20.

There is a photostat file in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

Extracts of local interest from the *Rhode Island Gazette* were printed in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* for October, 1923; and April, 1932.

Thomas, I.: History of Printing in America.

Kane, Hope: James Franklin, Senior, Printer of Boston and Newport.

Arnold, S. G.: History of Rhode Island.

Bayles, R. M.: History of Newport County.

Hammett, C. E.: Bibliography of Newport.

Thomas W. Dorr's Escape

The manner in which Thomas Dorr was safely taken out of the State, when liable to arrest for causing the Dorr War:

Samuel Slater Greene was the namesake of Samuel Slater who established the first cotton mill, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and was brought up in his family.

For the greater part of his life he was agent for the cotton mills in Bernon and Warden of St. James Episcopal Church there, of which my father, Rev. Baylies P. Talbot, was for twenty years the rector.

Mr. Greene was a gifted mathematician, a somewhat stern but just man, whom everyone respected.

When the Dorr War occurred troops were stationed along the Blackstone Valley seeking to capture Thomas Dorr. Some of them were quartered in St. James Church.

Thomas Dorr managed to reach Bernon without being discovered and Crawford Allen of Providence and Mr. Greene concealed him in the back of the latter's carryall, took the front seat themselves and proceeded to drive leisurely through the village.

A sentinel soon caused them to halt and said to Mr. Greene, "Have you seen anything of Mr. Dorr?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Greene pointing with his thumb over his shoulder, "Back there a little ways."

The unsuspecting sentinel thanked him, and the carryall, drawn by one of the huge bay horses such as Mr. Greene always drove, passed on and over the State line without further challenge.

Years after, Mr. Greene told my mother of this occurrence which I have never seen mentioned in any account of the Dorr War.

June 22nd, 1932.

Eleanor W. Talbot Smith,
(Mrs. Arba Dike Smith),
Chatham, New Jersey.

Genealogical Notes

By EDWARD H. WEST.

TALMAN

The following extract from the Portsmouth, R. I. Land Evidence shows that Peter Talman had one less daughter than the lists of his children generally have.

Received of Ann Potter, wife of William Potter, four and twenty shillings, which is for Twelve acres of land at Least or more according to quallity, which was granted unto her son Preserved Brayton, he being heir to his father, Stephen Brayton, dec. belonging unto his freehold, by the Town of Portsmouth at a meeting of the free inhabitants, the 23 of the 12th month 1693-4. I say Received by me the 21st of the Second month called April 1694.

John Anthony Town Treasurer. (R. I. L. E. I-542.)

This shows that Ann Talman who married Stephen Brayton in 1679, married, as her second husband, William Potter.

WILCOX

The following proves that Edward Wilcox was the father of Daniel Wilcox.

Daniel Wilcox to John Briggs—all my Right, title, claims or interest unto any parcel of land granted within the limits of the town of Portsmouth, which was my fathers Edward Wilcox. 13th, 2nd mo. 1660. (R. I. Land Evidence, I-16.)

“R. D. D. His book And pen”

Communicated by G. ROTHWELL BURGESS.

In roaming around Block Island a number of years ago I chanced to find in a long abandoned shed an old account book inscribed as above, but with the full name. It was dated “Newshorham” July the 27th, 1837. His entries give us an idea of prices and goods of nearly 100 years ago. This man kept a store in the rear part of his ancestral home and farmed.

On one day he sold a silk handkerchief for 75 cts; one pare of glass lamps, 36; and loaned “3 shillings cash, 50 cts.” On another he sold a hat for three shillings 50 cts; and 2 bushels of potatoes 6 shil, 1.00.

For “3 days tugging and harvesting” he paid \$1.25. (And tugging was rightly named—it was digging out peat for fires). Caleb harvested two days and was paid 50 cents, while John Ball worked a day “diging stone” for 30 cents. A day’s work “walling” was worth 40 cts to another individual, while his pound and a half powder cost him 37 cents.

A farmer is credited with 10 bushels of corn, \$7.60 one year old steare at \$8.00; and 6 pounds of wool at 25 cents a pound.

An ounce of lobelia cost 25 cents and of “hot drops” 12½ cents. For keeping one sheep over an indefinite period he received 25 cents. He also did some carding and charged 25 cents.

He sold Celleb Westcott 62 pounds of hay for 46½ cents. A pair of shoes cost Caleb 1.75; 2 cotton shirts 1.00 and a “Jack nife” 37 cents. He also bought half a bushel of meal, 68 cts; a bushel of potatoes, 40 cts and borrowed 1/6 pence at a cost of 25 cents. A flanel shirt cost him 25 cents, and to wear over it a west cut for a dollar. Two hundred “punkins” cost him \$3.00, and another pair of boots (per haps to wear Sundays) \$2.50; A Box coat, 1.00; a pair of

trousers, 1.50; a silk handkerchief 75 cts; and one cap 3 shillings 50 cents. Sattennet cloth and a hat \$4.00 seems to have outfitted Caleb to the Queen's taste, or possibly that of some other female.

Caleb's brother William bought a "goos waing" 6½ pounds at 5 cts pll 33 cts.

A pound of butter sold for 20 cents and 50 rails cost 4.50.

In 1848 walling is worth 50 cents a day; a bushel of corn, 6 shillings 1.00 and a pig \$2.00. A day of mowing is worth \$4.00 while two days thrashing is worth only \$1.00.

In 1842 half a rod of tug sells for \$2.50.

In 1849 he either bought or sold a gallon of oil and a gallon of gin and neglected to enter the cost.

In 1847 milk sold at 4 cents a quart.

In 1849 he charged his cousin \$3.00 for use of "my oxon plowing four days." In the same year we find he sold a little boat for \$5.00. Three days thrashing and drilling twenty eight inches is worth 78 cents to him, and a quintle of fish 1.50. Cheese was cheap at 38 cents for 6 pounds, but 3 pounds of sugar cost 25 cents, and 50 cents bought a gallon of gin.

"On Satterday October the 5th D 1844. I shiped on board the Sloop Essex of Faal River from fall river Bound to New York Capt Ben Smith Comander." "thursday October the 21 1844 I tuck my discharge and fridy November the 22 1844 I shipped on Board the Schonah Yantic Capt. Staples Comander."

In 1851 a hoe cost 92 cents, same as "one Sith"; (scythe); a "pare of suspenders" 14 cts; 3 quarts of mollases and rake were charged at 44 cents. A gallon of mollases and a pound of coffee 38 cents; half a pound of soda and one head "to Backer" for 16 cents, while ½ "to Backer" was charged at .14 cents.

"September the 8th AD 1869 was the Day of great calamity with a gale. Southeast."

"Boddy exercise proffith a little but goodliness is proffitable unto all men."

Hoyle Gravestones

The Hoyle gravestones, now in the museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society, were presented some years ago by Mrs. George W. Carr and her sister, the late Mrs. Benjamin D. Weeden, descendants of Dr. Hoyle. The inscriptions on the stones are as follows:

In Memory of
 Doctor John Hoyle Gentleman
 April the 4th 1685 in town of Bury of Lancasle
 in Oldengland Dec^d. 17
 In Memory of M^{rs} Deborah Wife
 Doct^r John hoyle born in Boston M
 y^e 4th 1695 Dec^d. December y^e 29
 In Memory of M^{rs} Lvsm oin
 Doct^r John hoyle born Melton
 October y^e 17th 1727 Aged 42 y
 In Memory of M^{rs} Mary Wi
 Doct^r John Hoyle born in Mo
 August the 30th 1684 Dec^d
 y^e 11th 1742
 F Hoyle hope &
 Wies lived &
 Jesus

John Hoyle
 In Memory of Captⁿ.
 Richard Hoyle Esq^r Son
 of Capt. John Hoyle & De
 borah his Wife born y^e
 11th of March 1719, & Died
 November 3^d, 1752. We
 John Hoyle & M^{rs} Mary
 his Widow Believe he Liv
 ed & Died in y^e Lord. We
 say with Job, y^e Lord gave
 & y^e Lord hath taken away
 to himself. Blessed be the
 Name of the Lord. Amen

The coat of arms on the Hoyle stones was illustrated and described in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, April 1928, p. 73.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Roger Williams, New England Firebrand, by James Ernst is a volume of 538 pages, published in September by the Macmillan Company. Articles by Mr. Ernst on Roger Williams have appeared in recent issues of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*.

Mayflower Index, compiled by William A. McAuslan of Providence, a work of 1250 pages, has been published in two volumes by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

An article on the Ray family of Block Island by G. A. Moriarty, F. S. A., appeared in the July 1932 issue of the *N. E. H. & G. Register*.

Old Time New England for April 1932, contained an illustrated article on the European railway carriages that were used on the Boston and Providence Railroad from 1868 to 1878.

Genealogical and Biographical Records of American Families, Hartford, 1932, contains articles on the Corliss and Sheffield families.

The *New England Quarterly* for July 1932 contains two articles of local interest; *Wars of the Greeks at Brown* by William T. Hastings and *Letters to Dr. Channing on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas, 1837* by Fulmer Mood and Granville Hicks.

Early American Textiles by Francis Little, The Century Co., New York, 1931, contains many references to Rhode Island and three illustrations from the museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

A Century of Scholars, Rhode Island Alpha of Phi Beta Kappa, 1830-1930, edited by William T. Hastings, is a volume of 227 pages.

Autograph Letters and Documents of George Washington, now in Rhode Island Collections, was published by State Bureau of Information, Howard W. Preston, Director, 171 pages, illustrated.

The Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Peace Dale Congregational Church, 1857-1932, by Caroline Hazard, was issued as a pamphlet of 42 pages.

Two interesting and scholarly notes of great importance to American genealogists seeking to trace "royal descents" appear in the October 1932 issue of *The American Genealogist* under the title of *Royal Ancestry and Kings of Ireland*.

New York History for October 1932 contains an article on *Elkanah Watson, A Man of Affairs*.

* * *

S. E. M. in the *New England Quarterly* for April, commenting on historical society activities wrote: "This last criticism does not apply to the Rhode Island Historical Society. They publish relatively little: but the quality of their articles and the value of their documents may challenge comparison with those of any historical publication in the United States."

Seals of Rhode Island Admiralty Courts

By FREDERICK BERNAYS WIENER

During the course of an examination of the vice-admiralty papers in the Rhode Island archives, enough impressions of seals were seen so that the complete inscription could be pieced together. It reads, "SIG:ADMIR:PROVIN:MASS:ET:NOV:HANT:IN:NOV:ANGL*"

Compare *Emblems of Rhode Island*, p. 69. This seal was current while the Rhode Island court was held by a Deputy Judge under the Judge in Boston. Whether a new seal was cut when John Andrews was appointed Judge Commissary for Rhode Island, in October, 1758, and the court became independent of the one in Massachusetts, cannot be known until and unless more papers from the later period are found. At present only a very few have reappeared.

The state court for the trial of maritime causes, established in March, 1776, and reconstituted as a court of admiralty with instance jurisdiction in July, 1780, seems to have had no seal as such. The one used, probably that of Judge John Foster, shows a lion rampant on a shield without any lettering or inscription. This seal was used in 1777 in the presence of John Foster (Bernon Papers) but it had previously been used in 1767 and 1772 on bonds to Beriah Brown (Beriah Brown Papers in R. I. Hist. Soc. library).

Military Warrant of 1778

From the original manuscript owned by Arthur H. Armington

Providence 27 July 1778

Sir

You are to proceed to the widow Rutenburgh—
to purchase all the Boards & plank you Can & if
you Cant purchase Seize all that you may hear of within
Ten miles of this Town—

By Order of Genl Sullivan Silas Talbot Major
To Capt Elijah Bacon

NB the above warrant to Remain in force for three
days & no Longer

Fort Flags

The flags flown on British forts after 1661 were Union flags. The early pictures of New York made in 1664, 1679 and 1717 respectively, show the Union flag as the fort flag. It is not definitely known, however, what flag was used as the fort flag in America before 1661. Capt. John Smith shows the St. George flag flying at St. George's, Bermuda, in his *General History* written* in 1626 and printed in 1632, and on July 8, 1665, Capt. John Wentworth of Bermuda set up the St. George flag on the fort at New Tortola. This use of the St. George flag by a Bermudian in 1665 would seem to be due to the fact that changes occurred later in the colonies than in England and would seem to point to the probability that the St. George flag was often used as the fort flag especially in the colonies before 1661.

Apparently the red ensign was used as a fort flag as well as an infantry flag in Massachusetts Bay in 1634. In 1636 it was suggested that the King's arms be put into the flag to be flown at Castle Island, the fort in Boston Harbor. The idea seems to have been to put the royal arms in the canton of the red ensign in place of the cross which had been removed. It is possible, of course, that the St. George flag had been flown at Castle Island and that when the crosses were removed from the militia ensigns, the cross was also taken from this St. George flag, leaving a plain white flag on which the King's arms might be placed. This new flag was not made and for a while no flag was flown at the castle. After the trouble over the cross-less flag in May and June, 1636, the authorities had the King's Colors spread at Castle Island. *Colors* at this time meant ensign, and the application of the name King's Colors to the Union flag seems to have occurred during the reign of George II upon the reorganization of the army colors in 1743. On June 14, 1676,

*The plate is said to have been made in 1624.

during King Philip's War, the General Assembly of Rhode Island ordered the King's Colors to be set up at the garrison house in Providence.

Miss Grace Macdonald of the Rhode Island State Archives has discovered the following items in the State Archives in regard to the flags used at Fort George, Newport, R. I. These items, although referring particularly to Rhode Island, are doubtless typical of all of the thirteen original colonies. The prices are, of course, in the depreciated paper currency of the times.

H. M. C.

I

“Fort George, Dr. to John Brown, Feb. 16, 1736/7.
 To 39½ yds of find Scarlet buntin d/ £ 11:17
 To 190½ yds of blue & white buntin d 4/6 24:12.9
£ 36:9.9”

II

“Voted and resolved that the Account of John Brown amounting to Twenty nine Pounds seventeen Shillings & nine pence for a new Pendant and other necessaries supplied Fort George be allowed and paid out of the General Treasury.” (R. I. Col. Rec. 1729-1745, p. 506.)

III

“Fort George, Dr.
 1739 Oct^r. 12.
 To 58 Cordage at 20^d £ 4.16.8
 To Line 8/6 4 scanes Hous. at 2/ 16.6
 Nov^r 3^d To a Line - - - - - 2.
 To a Flagg 120^{yds} at 4/6 - - - - - 27.
 To making Oznabrigg &c 2.18.
 To a Pendant 40^{yds}
 “ making &c 10. 6.
£ 45.19.2

Newport Dec^r. 1739 Except Errors
 Sam Vernon”

IV

“Colony of Rhode Island for Fort George
to Weeden & Bennett

1750		
July +	To 79¼ yd of Bunting @ 14s	£ 55- 9-6
	To 47 yd ditto @ 12s	28- 4-0
	To thread & oznebrigs	1:10:0
	To Making a Flagg	10: 0:0
		<hr/>
		£ 95: 3:6

Newport Sept. 6, 1750”

V

“Colony of Rhode Island to Weeden & Bennett, Dr.

1752	} To Bunting & making a pend- October 3 } ant for Fort George - - -	£ 28.2
1753	To Ditto & making a Flagg	87.13-
May 2	for Ditto - - - - -	- - -
		<hr/>
		£ 115.15-”

VI

“Colony of Rhode Island to Weeden & Bennett

1754	
May 23	To bunting & making a pendant for Fort George £ 34: 6”

VII

It appears that the flags and pendants flown at Fort George did not last very long and often had to be renewed.

At a Council of War held at Newport in 1757 it was “farther voted & ordered that a White Flag with the Union described in the Canton at the Upper Corner thereof near the Staff be procured for the Ward House; And that when Three large Ships or Five Top-Sail vessels shall be per-

ceived from s^d House approaching the Harbour the said White Flag shall be hoisted as a Signal to the Fort." This item shows the use of the white ensign, (which at this time was sometimes called the St. George Flag*) as a signal flag in Rhode Island.

VIII

"Colony of Rhode Island to Job Bennett Jr. Dr.

1762	To Bunting & making a Pendant }	71-16"
Aug. 6	for Fort George Deld Capt. Read }	

IX

"Colony of Rhode Island to Job Bennett
1768 July 8 For a Pendant 17 yds long & 2 yds
wide for Fort George £ 5-8-10"

X

"Colony of Rhode Island to Job Bennett
1770 June 4 To Bunting and making an union
for the Pendant at Fort George
and mending the same 1-9-13¼
July 20 To 95½ yd Bunting @ 1/6 7-3-3
3½ ounces thread 35/
line 35/ Tow Cloth 75/ 0-5-0¾
making a Flag for Fort George 0-15-0

9-12-5½
17 Sept. 1770"

*Not to be confused with the flag having a red cross and white field which was called the St. George flag in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

XI

“1772 May 13 Colony of Rhode Island to Job
 Bennett Dr.
 To Bunting thread oznebrigs and
 making a pendant for Fort George
 2 yds wide & $17\frac{5}{8}$ yds long.
 Delivered the Gunner £ 3:18:7”

XII

“Colony of Rhode Island to Job Bennett for Fort
 George
 1772 Oct. 21 to $86\frac{1}{2}$ yd Bunting @ $1/6$ £ 6- 9-9
 to thread Ficklingburg a line
 and making a Union Flagg 19-9

 £ 7- 9-6
 1772 Oct. 30”

XIII

“Colony of Rhode Island to Job Bennett
 1774
 Oct. 20 to $44\frac{1}{2}$ yd of Bunting @ $1/6$ 3- 6-9
 to thread & Fublingburgh 1-6
 to making a pendant for Fort
 George 21 yd. long & 2 yds wide
 with a Union at the head 8-0

 £ 3-16-3
 May 2, 1775”

The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase¹

Transcribed by THEODORE G. FOSTER
Association for Purchasing Westquanaug

June the 8th 1678. WE whose Names are hereto subscribed being all all and every of us jointly concerned in Purchases of Land called Westquanaug² bounding upon the West Line of Providence—one of which said Purchases was made and purchased by M^r. William Vaughn late deceased his Friends and Associates—other by Mr. Zachariah Rhoods and Mr. Robert Westcoat—The Deeds of Sale or Sales thereof bearing Date May the 8th 1662 and September 23^d. 1662 &c as appears by Articles of Agreement made

¹The Minutes of the Association for purchasing Westquanaug are copied from a 650-page letter book of Theodore Foster. The volume consists mostly of copies of letters written by him and received by him. However, interspersed throughout the whole volume are copies of Bible records, genealogical sketches of various families and notes on historical matters.

Mr. Foster's handwriting, at times hurried and indistinct, makes the task of transcribing sixteen pages (8 x 12) of closely written words and lines a real undertaking, and to make the task the greater, the volume has been misused and has at some time in the past been used for a plant press by some youthful botanist.

The volume was brought to Michigan in 1863 by his son, Theodore Raepth Foster, who resided in Lansing, Michigan. Incidentally all printed mention of Theodore R. Foster and Maxwell S. Foster in genealogies refer to them as Theodore Foster and Maxwell S. or Maxwell Steward Foster, whereas in the letter book are copies of letters written by Theodore to his own relatives stating how and why he named them Theodore Raepth and Maxwell Stewardelphomb.

THEODORE G. FOSTER

²Westquanaug, now usually spelled Westconnaug, was a tract of land comprising nearly the southern half of the present town of Foster and that part of the town of Scituate which lies south of the north branch of the Pawtuxet River. The north line of the Westconnaug Purchase is shown on a map of Foster drawn by Theodore Foster in 1799 and on file in the R. I. H. S. Manuscripts, Vol. VII, No. 1409.

and Signed by the Persons³ therein concernd Datd Septem^r. the 29th. 1662 DO by these Presents oblige and engage ourselves in the said Articles following /viz/ First it is ordered and jointly agreed on by in that John Fones shall be Clerk to the Company—Secondly it is orderd and jointly agreed on by the said Company that Mr. Caleb Carr Mr. Jeremiah Clark Mr. Hugh Mosher and John Fones are authorised and by these Presnts We do give unto them full Power and Authority to and in our Behalf for the maintaining justifying and defending our just Rights and Property in our aforesaid Purchases above premisd and call to an Account any Person or Persons that are concernd in the aforesaid Purchase of what Monies is due from them to the Company and also to deal with Samuel Reape about a Deed of Sale which he doth obstinately detain in his Hands belonging to the Company: and to all Matters relating to the Propagation and Vendication of our aforesaid Purchases &c—Thirdly It is ordered that the Deed of Sale baring Date May the 8th 1662 with a Writing of Articles & other Papers to the Number of Thirteen shall be left in the Hands & Custody of Mr. Caleb Carr until the Company sees Cause to demand them or otherwise to dispose of them—Fourthly It is agreed on jointly amongst us that Mr. Caleb Carr Senior shall have an equal Share in the Purchase above specified without any Reference to a Share belonging to his Wifes First Husband⁴

Fifthly It is agreed upon that William Foster is accepted of by the Company in the Room and by the consent of Capt Richard Morris

Sixthly Emanuel Case appearing in Behalf of those which are concerned in that Share of Land in the aforesaid Purchase which did belong to his Father doth Engage as the

³Moosup, otherwise known as Pessacus and Quissucquansh, was the Indian sachem who sold the land according to the Petition of 1711. (See note 13.)

⁴John Pinner. Sarah, the daughter of Jeremy Clarke, married first John Pinner and secondly Caleb Carr. (Austin p. 45.)

Rest of the Company doth and is accepted of by the Company

Seventhly It is orderd and jointly agreed on that John Fones is accepted of to have that Share of Land which did belong to Mr. Nathaniel Johnson which he bought of Mr. Abell

Eightly It is orderd and agreed on that Weston Clarke and John Crandal⁵ shall each of them have a Share of Land in the aforesaid Purchase.————

Andrew Langworthy for	Thomas Clark	John Cranston
Thomas Dring	William Foster	Caleb Carr
Weston Clarke	Hugh Mosher for	Clement Weaver
Hugh Mosher for his Son	Aaron Davis	Thomas
John Mosher	John Fones	Hugh Mosher
	Latham Clarke	Shubal Paynter
	James . . .	Clement Weaver Jn ^r

Whereas WE Caleb Carr Jeremiah Clarke Hugh Mosher and John Fones being deputed and chosen by the Major Part of the Company concerned in purchasing Land called by the Name of Westquanauge to act and order all Matters relating to the Propagation of the aforesaid Purchases as appears by Articles under their Hands made the 8th of June 1678

WE being met together this 12th of June 1678 DO order and Declare as followeth—First it is orderd by the Major Part of us that Mr. Caleb Carr shall be the Treasurer to the Company

Secondly It is orderd that all persons that are concernd in the said Purchases and have not paid the full of the First Payment for their Part of said Purchase shall within Twenty Days after the Date hereof bring in his or their full Payment of what is due unto the Treasurer otherwise shall forfeit his whole Right in said Purchase to the Rest of the Company . . The First Payment is £ 4 . . 0 . . 0 in country Pay

⁵John Crandall sold part or all of his share to George Lawton on December 12, 1682. (R. I. Land Ev. III, 224)

Thirdly It is orderd that M^r. Caleb Carr and John Fones are authorised to go and treat with Samuel Reape about a Deed of Sale he hath in his Custody belonging to the Company

Fourthly It is orderd that there shall be Notice Given unto all Persons concernd in the aforesaid Purchases to appear before us to give a due and just Account of what Money they have paid or disbursed upon account of the said Purchases within Twenty Days after the the Date hereof

Fifthly It is ordered that the Company shall meet the 22^d. of This Instant at the House of M^r. Caleb Carr . . . The above written order made by Us June 12th. and Signd
p^r John Fones Clerk to the Company

Rec^d. by M^r. Caleb Carr Treasurer of Lawrence Springer upon the Account of his Share in the Purchase of Westquanaug 27 lb of Sheeps Wool . . .

Rec^d. of Philip Tabor Thirteen Shillings in Money upon the Account of his Share of Westquanaug

Rec^d. of Shuball Paynter for the Account of a Share of Land of Westquanaug the Sum of Three Pounds in Money and if he proves the Purchase already paid before that then he is to have his Money again—

At a Meeting of the Trustees with some others of the Company concerned in Purchase of Westquanaug Do order and Declare as followeth That whereas there was an order made the 12th. of this Instant That all persons concernd in the aforesaid Purchases should within Twenty Days bring his or their full Payment of what is due to the Company upon account of their Shares in the said Purchase and there being Several Persons that Do live Remote and as We Suppose have not had Twenty Notice to provide for the Performance thereof WE therefore see cause to defer the

Time before prefixed and give Liberty for bringing in the said Payments until the last Day of October next ensuing the Date hereof . . . Orderd as aforesaid this 22^d of June 1678

Signd per Order John Fones Clerk

At a Meeting of the Trustees before nominated the 19th of December 1679 It is orderd that all Persons concernd in the aforesaid Purchase shall have Timely Notice given to each of them to bring in a Just account unto the Treasurer of what Charge and Money they have expendd or paid for their Shares or part in the aforesaid Purchase and to make full Payment for their aforesaid Shares or Part with what hath been already paid as may appear by their Accounts at or before the First Day of March next ensuing the Date hereof that is to pay £ 4 . . 0 . . 0 in Current Pay

It is also ordered that any Person or Persons that are to have propriety in the aforesaid Purchase and have not paid any of the Sum above mentiond for their shares in the aforesaid Purchase /viz/ £ 4 . . 0 . . 0 current Pay shall take care to pay or cause to be paid unto the Treasurer before nominated the full Sum before mentiond at or before the First of March as aforesaid or otherwise upon Neglect thereof shall forfeit his or their whole Right and Propriety in the aforesaid Purchase

pr Order John Fones Clerk

These may Certify whom it may concern that We John Stanton and John Coggeshall of Rhode Island Do resign any Right or Title that we have had to a Purchase of Land calld Westquanaug to the Purchase of said Tract a Witness our Hand this 27th of Septembr 1682

John Coggeshall John Stanton

It is ordered that Weston Clark is received in as a Purchaser upon one of the Shares that is thrown up the 27th of September 1682

The Company of Purchasers of the Land of Westquanauge D ^r .		To John Fones	
April the 16 th 1683	To going to make the Agreement between Pawtuxet Men and said Company . . .	Five Day . . .	£0 . . 6 . . 0
March the 16 th 1684/5	To going to Pawtuxet to meet the Rest of the Trustees to consider advise and determine about Settling the Land . . .	Five Days . . .	0 . . 6 . . 0
April 16 1685	To going to Warwick to meet the Trustees . . .	Five Days . . .	0 . . 6 . . 0
	To Expenses there 2 ^d . 6 ^d .		0 . . 2 . . 6
April 20 1685	To going to Squomakuck to treat with the Indian Queen ⁽⁶⁾ and her Husband and others about the Purchases Four days with my Expenses on that Journey . . .		0 . 14 . . 6
	To 4 Yards of Duffil given per Order of the Trustees to the Indian Queen and her Husband 20/		1 . . 0 . . 0

Sup Contra Credit
 1683 April 17th. By Money rec^d of Weston Clark which was paid by the Treasurer M^r. Caleb Carr April 23^d. 1685.
 By 12^d. Money Rec^d. of Major Greene & M^r. John Whipple

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanauge⁽⁷⁾ convened at the House of M^r. Joseph Smith of Kinstown in the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation the 20th. of February 1706/7

1st Voted and orderd That Simon Smith shall be Clerk of the Company

⁶Weunquesh. See R. I. H. S. Coll. Oct. 1931, XXIV, 159.

⁷On May 6, 1702 The General Assembly of Rhode Island authorized the creation of Westconnaug as a township.

An Act in answer to the petition of sundry persons respecting the purchase of Wesquanauge.

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That always provided the said purchase of Wesquanauge doth not entrench upon the township of Providence, Warwick, Greenwich, Kingstown and Westerly; and that it be a competency for the setting a township, that then they shall by virtue hereof, have full power or liberty to settle a township on their own rights aforesaid. (R. I. Col. Rec., printed, III, 446.)

2^d Voted and orderd That M^r. John Rhodes M^r. Malichi Rhodes M^r. Peleg Rhodes M^r. Benjamin Carpenter and Simon Smith are taken in Equal Partners—as also M^r. Nathaniel Waterman and M^r. Thomas Field to be equal Partners with the Rest of the Proprietors of Westquanaug

Voted and agreed upon That all the Partners both those that are now taken in and those that were in before shall be at equal charges to maintain and vindicate the Right of the Land of Westquanaug and to stand by and assest each other in the Premises and whosoever shall be remiss of the said Partnership or shall neglect to pay his Equal Part in paying and defraying the Charges that may accrue concerning the said Premises He shall forfeit his part in said Lands to the Rest of the Partners

3 That no one of the Company shall sell or otherwise convey his part or any Parcel thereof to any person that is not priviledged in the said Land until such Time as the said Tract of Land is divided and if any shall not withstanding this Agreement sell their Right to any not of the Company Then the said Party so doing shall forfeit all his Right and Priviliges in the said Land to the Rest of the Company and lose all his Charges always provided that those that have conveyed before this Time shall not be included or *indemnified* any thing before written not withstanding

4 It is agreed that there shall be one of the Company chosen to be Treasurer for the Company who is to expend and pay all reasonable Charges that shall arise concerning the Management of said affairs and that every Person who has a whole Right shall pay to the Treasurer hereafter named Twenty Shillings a piece and those that have less than a whole Right to pay according to their Proportions after the Same Rate as aforesaid to be paid to said Treasurer by the last of March next ensuing and We do hereby appoint M^r. John Rhoods to be to be the Treasurer to order said Affairs

- 5th It is agreed upon that there shall be Six of the Company chosen as Trustees to oversee and menage the said Concern in Behalf of the Rest of the Company who shall have Power or any four of them agreeing to meet and order Matters and if they think best for the interest of the Company to call the whole Company together upon any emergent occasion of which Trustees there are to be Three on the Island and Three on the Main and the Persons appointed are the Honourable Governor Samuel Cranston M^r. Weston Clark and M^r. Robert Gardner on the Island and M^r. John Rhodes M^r. Richard Greene and Simon Smith on the Main
- 6th That that the said Trustees shall meet on the last Day of March next in order to appoint a Surveyor or Surveyors to lay out said Land and that the said Trustees shall be paid by the said Treasurer for all their reasonable charges and Time whilst about said Affair and what Money shall be paid by his Partners shall be deposited and laid up by said Treasurer and expended out to defray all Charges as the said Trustees shall order and that the said Trustees or any four of them shall have full Power to examine and look into all Matters that have been transacted heretofor in said Concern and also to have as full Power to act and do all Manner of Things relating to said Affairs as if the whole Company had done the same

John Rhodes in his own Behalf and for Malichy Rhodes	
Simon Smith	Samuel Cranston
Benjamin Carpenter	Weston Clark
Peleg Rhodes	Robert Gardner
Andrew Harris	Nicholas Carr
Israel Arnold	} For one Right WE the above Subscribers Do also Sign on Behalf of
Elisha Arnold	
Stephen Arnold	
John Fones	Jeremiah Clark
William Fobes & }	Hugh Mosher
John Pebody	} 1 Right
John Rogers	
	Clement Weaver Sen ^r .
	Clement Weaver Jun ^r .
	William Vaughn
	Richard Greene

(To be continued)

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METAL TOKENS USED AS CURRENCY

Metal tokens issued in Providence in 1844 and 1863 which were used as money on account of the lack of metal fractional currency.

From the Society's Museum

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No. 1

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

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Colonial Newport as a Summer Resort

By CARL BRIDENBAUGH

At the southern tip of the island of Rhode Island lies Newport, of which it has been said, "The climate is the most salubrious of any part of his Majesty's possessions in America. . . . It is made the resort every summer of numerous wealthy inhabitants of the Southern Colonies, and the West Indies, seeking health and pleasure. For the same reasons, and to enjoy the refined and polished Society of Newport, many families of fortune from the West Indies and Europe have taken up their permanent residence there; and among them many men of science and education have . . . made it their abode. . . . There are upwards of nine thousand inhabitants, celebrated for their hospitality to strangers, and extremely genteel and courtly in their manners."

This is not modern real estate promotion "literature," but an excerpt from a letter written in the year 1765 by Robert Melville, governor of His Majesty's Colony of Grenada. The fame which Newport enjoys today as a summer resort of wealth and fashion dates from colonial days, and long before the American Revolution it had achieved its established position as "Our Social Capital." The climate of the Narragansett country was likened by Bishop Berkeley to that of Italy,² and Richard Greenough, a native son, heartily echoed his sentiment when he dubbed it the "American Venice."³ The Reverend Mr. Callender quoted with pride in his Century Sermon of 1738 the words of praise uttered by "old Neale": "this is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New-England for the fruitfulness of the Soil and the temperateness of the Climate."⁴ In 1798, writing of the scene of his boyhood, Arthur Brown recalled that "the Climate of Rhode Island, often called the garden and the Montpelier of America, induced such numbers of wealthy persons from the southward to reside there in the summer, that it was ludicrously called the Carolina hospital."⁵

The earliest visitors to Newport were planters from the West Indies who came there to enjoy its beneficial climate. Several invalid Antiguans arrived at Newport as early as 1729, to rebuild their health which had been impaired by the excessive heat of that tropical island.⁶ Many of these people became enamored of the beautiful Narragansett country and determined to settle there. When Bishop Berkeley landed, in 1729, he was greeted by the Redwoods of Antigua, the DeCourcys of Ireland, the Bretts of Germany, and the Scotts of Scotland. Newport was already famous as a watering place.⁷

Before long the South Carolinians, many of whom originally came from Barbadoes and other islands of the Caribbees, began to sense the desirability of a vacation spent away from the fever-infested swamps of the Carolina tide-water.⁸ Among the first of the summer visitors from

Charles Town, was Col. Thomas Pollock, who came to "enjoy the advantages of the Climate," and "passed much of his time in Newport." Pollock practically became a resident of Newport, and contributed, through one of his children, to the greatest romance in the history of the town.⁹

The early Newport records have suffered from the ravages of time and war, and our information is slim indeed. But we may infer from what little we possess that the stream of visitors grew steadily following 1730. In particular, the number of South Carolinians increased, and in this period it began to be fashionable as well as beneficial for southern planters to summer on Rhode Island. About this time also Philadelphia's growing merchant aristocracy discovered the charm of Newport.

No record of the concourse of visitors was kept until after the founding of the *Newport Mercury* in 1758. The enterprising Samuel Hall and his successor, Solomon Southwick, took a forward step for American journalism when, in 1767, in addition to the usual shipping news, they began to print lists of summer arrivals. It was doubtless a source of considerable satisfaction for the shopkeepers of Newport to read in the *Mercury* of June 1/8, 1767, that "Last Thursday, the Sloop Charlestown, Capt. Joseph Durfee, arrived here from Charlestown, South-Carolina, in 9 days, with whom came Passengers, the Reverend *Winwood Serjant*, intended for the Episcopal Church in Cambridge, near Boston, together with his Lady, and a number of other Gentlemen and Ladies. The whole Number of Passengers amounted to Eighteen." From 1767 down to the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 these notices became a regular feature of the *Newport Mercury*. It was Southwick's custom in this period to print the names of prominent visitors in capitals, whereas the familiar coming and going of the mercantile group was restricted to ordinary font. The activities of the world of fashion, thus early in our colonial society, became better headline material than the simpler doings of

mere men of affairs. Here, in embryo, is our modern society column, a feature unique in the colonial press.¹⁰

The lists of arrivals grew steadily in size, and in the eight years before the Revolution we know that over four hundred people visited Newport in the summer season.¹¹ It is possible that the unchronicled arrivals totalled many more. By far the largest number came from South Carolina, although Philadelphia and Jamaica contributed their share. A striking feature of these lists is the fact that although Newport had a regular packet service to New York, as well as to the West Indies and the South, and probably transacted more business with that town than any other, not one New York name is to be found. Perhaps the Knickerbockers had already found their way to Long Island and the Catskills.¹²

Good boat service was absolutely necessary to Newport's development as a resort. In 1767 there was no continuous road from the South to New England, and even had there been one, the distance and rigors of the trip would have discouraged all but the most hardy. The journey could more conveniently be made by sea. In this period Newport was enjoying the "golden era" of her commerce with the West Indies. Packet ships from Narragansett Bay were to be found in all of the southern ports and in the havens of the Caribbean.¹³ Captains sought passengers as well as cargoes, and probably many a planter was lured north by highly colored "sales talks" expatiating on the beauties of Rhode Island. The conclusion is inescapable that Newport could not have become a resort had it not been first a flourishing seaport.

Comfort and convenience, however, were merely relative, whatever the means of travel in colonial days and the journey by sea to Rhode Island was hazardous, to say the least. The Atlantic coastline was almost uncharted and lighthouses were few. We marvel today that families would ever have made the attempt when we read in the *Mercury* of June 18, 1770, of a vessel wrecked near New

London:¹⁴ "This Vessel was chartered by Col. *Smith*, of Charlestown, S. Carolina, in which himself, his Lady, 4 Children and 4 Servants, and several other Personages, were coming to this Place to Spend the Summer. But happily there was no Person lost except the Mate, who was drowned.—Col. *Smith* and his Family arrived safe here yesterday." Perhaps some, of whom we have no record, were not so fortunate, but it seems safe to assume that those who were not so opulent as Col. Smith and chose the regular packet boats were probably favored with better passages under the care of expert pilots. At any rate, the packet service became the favorite means of transportation. It was, however, a long and tedious voyage to Newport, requiring from Jamaica twenty-five to thirty-three days,¹⁵ from Charles Town, seven to sixteen (ten being the average),¹⁶ and from Philadelphia, four to six days.¹⁷ When the packet sloop or brig slid past Beaver Tail Light and tied up at Long Wharf, Newport, we may be assured that the weary travelers sighed with relief and hurried ashore to meet their waiting friends. Newport must have had its attractions to cause people to risk both comfort and safety to enjoy them.

Who were the people who summered in Newport? From what class of society in their native towns did they come? Fortunately, the *Newport Mercury* affords the answers. That they could bear the costs of traveling indicates that most of them were wealthy, and an investigation of their backgrounds proves that many of the people who came from the southern colonies and the West Indies were of the British official class. "On Monday last came to Town, from Boston, His Excellency Lord *Charles Greville Montague*, governor of South Carolina and his Lady, . . . to pass a few weeks."¹⁸ We have already noted the arrival of Robert Melville, governor of Grenada.¹⁹ In September, 1772, ". . . Lieut. Gov. Young of Tobago being in Town," invited the Reverend Ezra Stiles to call on him. "I waited upon him and his Lady," wrote the Congregational Min-

ister, "and spent three hours with him."²⁰ In the same year Lord William Campbell, last royal governor of South Carolina, spent some time in Newport with "his Lady," the former Sarah Izard of Charles Town.²¹ Newport was particularly attractive to the "Hon. *Augustus Johnston*, Esq; Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for South-Carolina;" he and his "Consort" passed the summers of 1769 and 1770 there.²² Those minor officials in the colonial and naval service who could afford the luxury were also to be found summering at Newport.²³

The merchant princes of Charles Town and the wealthy planters of South Carolina constitute the largest group to visit Newport. Fear of the yellow and "country" fevers had for years driven the Carolina planters into Charles Town during the summer months, and after 1765 the fame of Rhode Island lured them northward. A glance at the "society page" of the *Mercury*, June 26, 1769, informs us that: "Last Friday Capt. Joseph Durfee, in the Sloop Charles-Town, arriv'd here in 7 Days from Charles-Town, with whom came Passengers the Hon. *Augustus Johnston*, Esq; Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for South-Carolina, &c. *Henry Middleton*, Esq; and Family." The brig *Betsy*, in July, landed another group: "Mr. *John Izard*, Esq; and Family, *Alexander Wright*, Esq; and Family, and *Archibald McNeil*, Esq; and Family," from Charles Town after a passage of twelve days.²⁴ Two years later a flutter was caused in the social set by the arrival of "Lieut. Gov. *Bull*, Mr. *William Bull*, Mr. *Outerbridge*, Miss *Katy Beale*, Dr. *John Farquharson*, Mr. *Gabriel Manigault*, Miss *Hazell*, Mr. *Philip Mines*, Mr. *John Morgery*, Mr. *Isaac Milehill*, and others."²⁵

By 1768 the bluebloods of Philadelphia began that annual pilgrimage to the Narragansett Bay country which continues to this day. On August 15, the *Mercury* announced the arrival of "Mr. *John Wharton*, and Sister, Mr. *Samuel Nichols*, Mr. *Williams*, and Sister, Mr. *Benj. Rawles*, of Philadelphia." In the seven year period cov-

ered by this paper, we note among other members of Philadelphia society the names of Mr. Clement Biddle, Mr. Josiah Hewes, Mr. Gilbert Rodman, Mr. Christopher Marshall, the Lillibridge family, Thomas Mifflin and family, the Philadelphia Redwoods, and Mr. Lewis Bonnettee.²⁶ From Jamaica, Georgia, and North Carolina came summer visitors whose names are less familiar today, but who certainly were socially important in the eighteenth century.

The season was long, for the Southerners especially, commencing as early as the first week in May, and lasting till October, occasionally into November. This we also learn from the *Mercury*, which began to take notice of departures in its issue of November 6, 1769: "This Day sail'd the Sloop Charles-Town, Capt. *Joseph Durfee*, for Charles-Town, South-Carolina, with whom went Passengers, Mrs. *Wells* and Daughter, *Augustus Johnston*, Esq; Mr. *Sanderson*, Mr. *Edwards*, and Mr. *Nathaniel Russel*." The Philadelphians, being mostly merchants, had of necessity to yield to the calls of business, and generally left early in September. On September 6, 1773,²⁷ "sailed for Philadelphia, the Sloop Peace and Plenty, Capt. *Joseph Anthony*, with whom went Passengers, *Thomas Mifflin*, Esq; and Lady; Mr. *Thomas Hopkins*, and Lady, Mr. *Charles Startin*, and Lady, Mrs. *Sheilds*, Miss *Nabby Collins*, Mr. *John Gardner*, Capt. *George Crump*, Mr. *William McDonald*, Mr. *John Grant*, Mr. *Samuel G. Fowler*, Mr. *John P. Hicks*, and several others."

A summer spent in Newport was an expensive affair that only the well-to-do could afford. The cost of transportation, alone, for a family and retinue was great; "genteel" folk would feel it necessary to hire the whole cabin on the packet sloop. When they arrived at Newport, the wealthier families took houses for the period of their stay. In the spring and early summer the *Mercury* was filled with advertisements like the following:²⁸

TO BE LET, A Genteel House and Furniture,
with a Garden, &c, pleasantly located. . . .

By CALEB GODFREY.

OR,

TO LET [two Houses] very convenient and pleasantly situated, with two good Stables, Gardens, and Wells of Water, &c Enquire of the PRINTER hereof.

Gabriel Manigault, of Charles Town, who was reputed the richest gentleman in the Colonies,²⁹ would probably have taken such a residence when he arrived for the season.

Some of the regular summer visitors owned estates near Newport, and may be regarded as the forerunners of the Van Rensselaers and Belmonts. Mr. William Rodman, of Philadelphia, owned "The Noted Farm on New-Shoreham," which was advertised for sale by William Ellery in 1772.³⁰ Occasionally one of the high provincial officials was invited to stay with a prominent family of Newport. In 1728 Lord Charles Greville Montague "went to the Country-Seat of Mr. William Redwood, . . . where, we hear, His Lordship proposes to pass a few weeks."³¹ Here, too, he probably found the Philadelphia Redwoods, who frequently spent the summer with their Newport cousins.

The less opulent had to be satisfied with simpler accommodations in the town itself, such as "Three Genteel Rooms, pleasantly situated in Marlborough-Street, with the Priviledge of a Garret, Yard, and Cellar," or "a Genteel Parlour, furnished with Two Bed-Rooms, with a Priviledge in the Kitchen, and Accomodations for a Servant, in the good, clear Air, and retired." There were no real estate agents in those days, and one procured lodgings by consulting the printer of the *Newport Mercury*.³² Single men, of whom there were many, generally lodged at taverns like Mary Cowley's, in Church Street, which advertised "several decent rooms and beds unoccupied," for "gentlemen."³³

The arrival of the summer visitors was welcomed by the shopkeepers and taverners of the town as a good chance to "turn an honest penny." John and William Tweedy, druggists, and their competitors, Reak and Okey, advertised their cure-alls and nostrums with an almost modern assurance: "The Golden Medical Cephalic Snuff," to cure all disorders of the head; "British tooth-powder," at 2/6 per box; and "The True Italian Ointment," at 3/6. The ladies greatly feared injury to their complexions from exposure to the sun, and for this Reak and Okey prescribed "Queen's pearl wash ball," guaranteed to remove "freckles and sunburn. It renders the skin delicately white, smooth, and soft. . . ." ³⁴ What modern cosmetic could promise more? In 1773, "Poree, Surgeon-Dentist" from New York, made a short trip to Newport in July, "at the intercession of some worthy gentlemen," no doubt hoping to find a market for his "artificial teeth" among the summer people, ³⁵ for he put up at Mrs. Cowley's "genteel" boarding house. John Escoffier, "just arrived from Paris," informs the public that he has opened a "Hair-Dressing Business" and "makes Hair Cushions for Ladies." ³⁶ John Goddard, cabinet-maker, who copies Chippendale's patterns from a manual recently imported, hastens to prepare new styles of furniture for his West Indian customers. ³⁷ Paris fashions being all the rage, the modish female will of course wish to visit the shop of "MARY MARTIN, Mil-lener and Mantua-Maker, Lately arrived from Paris. N. B. She dresses ladies heads, for half a dollar, at the Shop; and if waited on, at a dollar. . . ." ³⁸ The Southerners and West Indians had a reputation as free spenders, and these Yankee tradesmen intended to operate on this assumption. ³⁹

An analysis of the lists published in the *Mercury* reveals certain social characteristics common to nearly all of the summer colony. West Indians and Southerners were predominantly members of the Anglican communion. Of the Philadelphians the majority also worshipped at the Estab-

lished Church, although there was a strong minority belonging to the Society of Friends. These travelers, therefore, would find in Newport, where Quakers and Episcopalians formed the most influential sects, a society especially congenial in the sphere of religion.⁴⁰ Socially the members of the summer group came almost wholly from the rising merchant aristocracy of the colonial towns. Most of the Charlestonians were members of St. Philip's and St. Michael's parishes—a sufficient key to distinction. In addition, many belonged to the Charles Town Library and the very fashionable St. Cecilia Society whose brilliant reception to Lord Greville Montague in 1773 so dazzled the sober Josiah Quincy of Boston.⁴¹ The South Carolinians who came to Newport brought with them an established social position, and lent to the island resort a decided English tone borrowed from their native town.

Of the group from Philadelphia, nearly all enjoyed membership in the exclusive "Dancing Assembly," in itself the badge of gentility.⁴² Seven of the gentlemen mentioned in Newport's "social register" were vassals of the Governor of the Colony in Schuylkill, the most select men's club of colonial days, and one of them, Thomas Mifflin, subscribed to the purses of the Jockey Club and rode to hounds over the course of the Gloucester Hunt.⁴³ We have no means of knowing much about the Jamaicans and Antiguans, but the fact that they traveled in the favored company of royal governors and were accustomed to pass much of their time in London lends strength to their claim for social distinction. Newport, even in the "gay nineties," would have found it hard to eclipse the galaxy of social lights it presented in 1772-1773. With its intellectual attainment, culture, refinement, and wealth, Newport was becoming the Bath of America.

We have already noticed that the first attraction of Newport was its salubrious climate, which was a great inducement to visitors from the South. This never lost its appeal, but Newport, like Bath, included many other

charms in its repertoire. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were sober and business-like seaports, places in which the "puritan" way of living was dominant. Not so with Newport. Because of its heterogeneous religious makeup, this town was from its beginning free from clerical control. "No opinion was prohibited consistent with morality," wrote Arthur Brown, because ". . . the multiplicity of secretaries [*sic*] produced more genuine religion, morality and piety . . . than in any country I have ever seen."⁴⁴ The puritan sabbath, as practiced in Boston, calling for half of Saturday to be used in preparation was ridiculed in the Newport press:

. . . 'tis plainly seen, *how chang'd indeed,*
That sacred law, which God himself decreed!
In this one Act, they think to merit Heav'n,
By taking half a day from six, and adding it to seven.

The people of Newport evidently agreed with Berkeley's dictum: "Give the devil his due, John Calvin was a great man," but they wanted none of his religious discipline.⁴⁵ As compared with Boston, Newport was "wide open" on Saturday nights. To the gay, pleasure-loving planter it was indeed an attractive spot, while the Philadelphia Anglican felt a sense of relief from Quaker sobriety and moral compulsion.

Judged by eighteenth century standards the island of Rhode Island offered something to everyone—culture, solitude, gaiety, entertainment, and health.

Though the sea air and even climate of Rhode Island were claimed to be most beneficial, there were some who failed to find the cure for which they sought. The *Newport Mercury* records thus a simple tragedy that must have been frequently re-enacted:⁴⁶ "July 18, . . . died Miss *Elizabeth Hollybrush*, of Charlestown, South-Carolina, from whence she lately arrived here, for the Recovery of her Health, aged 21 Years. . ." On July 11, 1774 "*James Crooke*, Esq; and family" arrived from Jamaica, "to recover his

health," but on August 10 the *Mercury* gives notice of his death and burial in Trinity Church yard.⁴⁷ More pleasant is the item that in the summer of 1770, "Hon. *James Otis*, on a Tour for his Health, spent one or two Days in this Town."⁴⁸ Thus, we see that many invalids sought recovery along the shores of the Narragansett, but the impression gained from reading the newspaper is that the majority of the visitors were more interested in prevention than in cure.

These "idle rich" formed our first leisure class, and to the lower classes of Newport and the surrounding country may well have seemed as heretics rebelling against the traditional doctrine of "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work." Lilies of the field had hardly as yet an accepted position in the pioneer society. That a class feeling was developing is mentioned in a condescending manner by Arthur Brown:⁴⁹ ". . . the richer merchants . . . together with the clergy, lawyers, physicians and officers of the English navy who had occasionally settled there, were considered as gentry; even being a member of the Church of England gave a kind of distinctive fashion. A superior order thus formed by better and more information existed even to a degree sufficient to excite jealousy in the agricultural system, and to be a gentleman was sufficient . . . to expose the bearer of that name to mockery and rudeness, a specie of inconvenience which a liberal mind pardoned as compensated by the comfort and independence which produced it." An undercurrent of resentment thus flowed in the relationship between summer guest and native laborer, notwithstanding the business advantage the situation brought to the latter.

During the period under review Newport was a bustling seaport of seven to nine thousand inhabitants.⁵⁰ For a community of its size it presented unusual cultural opportunities both for its own citizens and for visitors. Its chief pride was the great collection of books housed in the beautiful Redwood Library. Although this was a subscription

library, non-members could borrow books by depositing a sum against the value of the book and paying a small fee for its hire. Books withdrawn could be kept for a month.⁵¹ For those who wished to improve their leisure by reading this library was unsurpassed in the Colonies. The *Diary* and *Itineraries* of Ezra Stiles, librarian of the Redwood, give ample evidence of the wide use of the collection by visitors as well as by townsfolk.⁵² Solomon Southwick, printer of the *Mercury*, conducted a book store in connection with his business. The striking feature of the book advertisements in his paper is the amount of secular literature, especially novels, announced for sale, as compared with what was demanded by the more austere tastes of Boston, New York and Philadelphia.⁵³ Probably one of his best customers was the Vice-Admiralty Judge of Charles Town, who advertised on September 18, 1769: "Those Persons who may be possessed of any Books belonging to Augustus Johnston, are earnestly requested to return them as soon as may be." Use of the Redwood Library was evidently supplemented by private circulation.

Life on isolated plantations made it difficult for southern and insular planters to further their own and their children's educations, but a summer in Newport offered advantages in this line. Many gentlemen, no doubt, profited by the opportunity to improve their fencing under Monsieur Bontamps, Mr. William Pope, or Monsieur Delile of the University of Bordeaux.⁵⁴ Others could join with their ladies in the study of French under one of the many teachers who advertised. Lewis Delile, recommended by Rev. Mr. Stiles, who was also his pupil, announced that by his method "a Scholar can learn to speak very good French . . . in two Months."⁵⁵ Numerous private schools for boys and girls are noticed in the *Mercury* and possibly owed their existence to the presence of the summer colony.⁵⁶ For those of a more gregarious turn excellent conversation was to be had; few cultured people visited Newport without discussing the problems of the universe with the learned

Ezra Stiles. Trade and politics were the principal topics of debate at the Royal Exchange Coffee House, where among convivial surroundings could be had "the best of London Porter, Madeira, Teneriffe, White Li[s]bon, and Claret Wines, and every other liquor and Convenience suitable to accomodate Gentlemen with." All strangers and travelers could "depend upon the best Entertainment and Attendance."⁵⁷ Or, if you had a friend who belonged to the "Fryday Night Club" you might be introduced as a guest to one of Col. Godfrey Malbone's famous dinners.⁵⁸ The freemason from Charles Town, the West Indies or Philadelphia was sure to be welcome at the meetings of the Newport lodge.⁵⁹

As if to usher in the season of 1772 came the announcement that on May 5, "A Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental *Musick*, By a Number of the First Performers from Boston, &c,"⁶⁰ would be given at the Court House, commencing at 7 P. M. sharp. The number and frequency of the advertisements for these concerts appearing in the *Mercury* suggests that they were well patronized. In 1767, Henry Hymes announced an "Entertainment of *Musick*, every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the Performances will be given gratis. . . . Any Gentlemen or Ladies wishing private Concerts may have it upon 4 hours notice," for which a charge will be made.⁶¹ Music had been popular in Newport ever since 1733, when Bishop Berkeley presented an organ to Trinity Church.⁶² The vestry was always careful to secure a competent organist, and in 1773, "William Selby, Organist of Trinity Church, Newport, Just arrived from London," informed the public that he would "instruct young Gentlemen and Ladies to play upon the violin, flute, harpsichord, guitar and other instruments, now in use. . . ."⁶³ That the visitors from Charles Town appreciated the Newport talent is seen from an advertisement in the *Newport Mercury*, April, 1771, for musicians to play at a concert with the St. Cecilia Society. A first and second fiddle, two hautboys, and a

bassoon were wanted, and it was hinted that there was a possibility of a two to three years' engagement.⁶⁴ If the numerous announcements of Elias Gilbert's singing class at Bradford's School House and the many singing books and "English Songs in score" advertised in Southwick's paper are any index, voice culture was very popular.⁶⁵ Mayhap they still sang the song that some years earlier was on everyone's lips: "*The Glorious Success of His Majesty's Arms in the Reduction of Havannah.*"⁶⁶

Although the Hallam-Douglass Company of actors had played for two seasons in Newport, in 1761-1762, no regular plays were performed as in New York, Philadelphia and Charles Town.⁶⁷ But the visitors, especially from Charles Town, furnished both the demand and the necessary patronage, and from time to time occasional performances were given. In 1771 the town granted a license to a group "to act plays," but we do not know that this privilege was ever utilized.⁶⁸ In the absence of real productions the people accepted the best substitute, and we learn from the *Mercury* that in 1769,⁶⁹

On Tuesday Evening,
The Fifth of September Instant,
At Mrs, Cowley's Assembly-Room
In Church-Lane,
Will be read
An Opera,
Call'd Love in a Village:

By a Person who has Read and Sung in
Most of the Great Towns in America.

In all ways a developed seaside resort, colonial Newport, like its later rivals and imitators, furnished its crop of summer romances, and then as now a wedding thrilled the visitors and townspeople. In 1773 "William Gibbins, of Savannah, Esq;" married Miss Vally Richardson of New-

port. The wedding was celebrated in November, too late for most of the summer colony, but they at least had the pleasure of seeing the romance develop.⁷⁰ But the next year those who returned to Newport were rewarded with the privilege of witnessing the brilliant marriage of a daughter of the town to a distinguished visitor. On August 22, the *Mercury* reported that "Last Thursday was married, at Bedford, in Dartmouth, *Mr. Clemment Biddle*, of Philadelphia, merchant, to the aimiable *Miss Becca Cornell*, daughter of *Gideon Cornell*, Esq; late of this town, deceased."⁷¹

The lighter forms of amusement were many and varied. Among the gentry the giving of large, formal dinners was, perhaps, the most widespread of all social activities. The favorite dishes on these occasions were Dun-fish,⁷² and West India turtles. After dinner the ladies retired and the gentlemen remained at the table for pipes, punch and Madeira. Before the men rejoined the ladies in the drawing-room for cards and dancing,⁷³ the latter regaled themselves with the latest gossip. In September of 1774 society was pleasantly horrified by the notorious Wanton scandal. Such affairs were not at all unusual in the families of artisans and mechanics—but *the Wantons* of Newport! The distraught husband, soon angered by prevailing rumors, vented his spleen in the press:⁷⁴ "Whereas *Content Wanton*, the wife of John Wanton (son of James) hath absented herself from my bed and board, without any cause or offence given by me, but, as I suppose, by the advice of some persons who are enemies to my peace and happiness, and as their wicked counsel may extend farther, in persuading her to run me into debt, to accomplish their wicked intent of completing my ruin;" this is to give notice that he will assume no responsibility for debts incurred by his apparently well-named wife.

Dancing was a favorite form of amusement in Newport for many years prior to the Revolution. An Assembly had been formed in 1745 by thirteen bachelors, the majority

members of Trinity Church, who issued invitations to thirty-two qualified young ladies.⁷⁵ We can find no records of the Assembly after 1751, but there exists abundant evidence that the habit of dancing grew with time. Dancing schools increased in number, and French dancing masters began to advertise frequently in the newspaper.⁷⁶ Whenever dinners were given they were usually followed by dancing, as well as by cards, backgammon and billiards—always accompanied by Madeira for the ladies and rum punch for the men.⁷⁷ Mary Cowley frequently advertised her Assembly-Rooms which opened in September, one to be used for dancing, “the other . . . a separate genteel Apartment with Card-Tables, and a good Fire. Hours 6-10 o’clock.”⁷⁸ Dancing, for the most part, was a winter diversion in colonial days, although Arthur Brown remembered that “in warm weather parties in the woods and dinners, . . . with dances afterwards in the open air were favorite amusements.” We infer that most people liked better the customary summer “evening promenades . . . when from about an hour after sunset, . . . the country resounded with songs and serenades.”⁷⁹ This is truly a delightful picture of an idyllic existence.

It must never be forgotten that in colonial days the church was the central social agency. In the two decades preceding the American Revolution the increasing secularization of life in the towns was causing the church to lose much of its influence, but, nevertheless, it still played the leading role on the provincial stage. The social events of Newport revolved about Trinity Church. To be an Anglican was to be assured of a superior place in the ranks of society.⁸⁰ Stiles complained bitterly of the domination of the Redwood Library by the Church of England; “this set out as a Quaker affair, . . . [but] the Episcopalians slyly got into & obtained a Majority wch they are careful to keep.”⁸¹ Of course the Congregational parson was prejudiced, but there is no question of the social value of membership in the Anglican Church. The royal governors and lesser officials

who set the tempo of provincial life were generally of that communion, and, furthermore, the Church was far more tolerant and lenient in its attitude toward the "frivolous" side of life than the non-conforming sects. It is thus no source of wonder that the parish register of Trinity Church, Newport, reads like the bead roll of early Rhode Island, and on a pleasant sabbath in the summer the passerby would see large numbers of the visiting gentry escorting their "consorts" there to divine service.

Turtle parties enjoyed a great popularity as a summer entertainment. Jahleel Brenton's negro slave, Cuffee Cockroach, was always in great demand as a turtle cook. These affairs were generally held on Goat Island near Ft. George. Dinner was served at two in the afternoon, and was followed by tea at five, after which there would be dancing while the musicians played "Pea Straw," "Faithful Shepherd," and "Arcadian Nuptials." The parties broke up about eleven o'clock with a final hot toddy, and the gay revelers were ferried back to town.⁸²

There were sporting possibilities in the neighborhood. The summer visitor was frequently amused by horse races on the beach between the famous Narragansett pacers, or by exhibitions of horsemanship by "Mr. Bates, the famous horseman," and Christopher Gardner, the local boy, whom the townspeople and press hailed as "the original American rider."⁸³ It was fashionable to take an afternoon's drive in a chaise about the Island, and stop for a bite to eat at Abigail Stoneman's tea house in Middletown, where "large entertainments . . . will be prepared on the shortest notice."⁸⁴ On sunny days parties were made up to hire Samuel Haywood's "new pleasure-boat, Liberty," and explore the coves and inlets of Narragansett Bay, or to make a run to Providence or Bedford on the packet boats.⁸⁵ On returning great strength of mind was required to pass the Oyster House on Long Wharf without sampling a dozen salts or so.

This, then, was the attractive prospect which the summer visitor faced. There was nothing like it in America, a sea-side town, busily attending its own profitable pursuits, yet extending its hospitality to a society who came there because of its charm, and who generously added their own graces and accomplishments. The life was simpler than today, the display of wealth less great perhaps, the social stratification less intense. Newport was more of a flourishing seaport then than now, and its life revolved less exclusively around the arrival and departure of its summer guests. Yet potentially Newport was in the eighteenth century as in the nineteenth, the health-restoring, pleasure-giving resort of those whose loftier birth, accumulated wealth and social accomplishments afforded them opportunity to enjoy in leisure a few months each year of the best the New World could offer. This happy, gentle society, almost unique in the pioneer sternness of life on a new continent, was abruptly, though not permanently, brought to a close by the outbreak of hostilities in 1775. It is with a pang of regret that we read the last "society notice" in the *Mercury*:⁸⁶ "June 12, arrived here the Sloop Friendship, Capt. *Munro*, in 14 days from Charles-Town, with whom came Passengers, Mr. *Isaac McPherson*, Mr. *Jonathan Clarke*, Mrs. *Clarke*, and Mr. *Nathan Child*, all of South-Carolina. This vessel was taken under the *protection* of the men of war."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
October 14, 1932

Notes

¹*Rhode Island Historical Magazine*, (July, 1885), VI, 45-46.

²George Berkeley, *Works*, (A. Campbell, ed., 4 vol., Oxford, 1871), IV, 160. Letter of April 24, 1729.

³William B. Weeden, *Early Rhode Island*, (New York, 1910), 266.

⁴Weeden, *Rhode Island*, 265.

⁵*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 165*n*.

⁶Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, *Newport: Our Social Capital*, (Philadelphia, 1905), 19-20.

⁷G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport*, (Newport, 1884), 9.

⁸For some account of the fevers, see Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government*, (New York, 1901), *passim*.

⁹Mason, *Reminiscences*, 160-165. Col. Pollock was sued by John Scollay in the Rhode Island courts and ordered to pay a judgment of over £500. Walter Chaloner, sheriff of Newport, went bond for Pollock. The latter disappeared and never returned, and Chaloner was thrown into prison to satisfy the bond. Thomas Pollock, Jr. was thus left to bear the shame of his father's crime. The Ferguson family would not permit the lad to court their daughter Ethel, and in despair he signed for a merchantman in 1799. Returning in 1813 with a privateersman, Pollock learned to his sorrow that the Fergusons had moved to New York. He sought out Ethel on Long Island and married her. They removed to Carolina where a remnant of the paternal estate afforded them a refuge.

¹⁰Any social item of local importance was reported in the provincial press, but notices of this special type are not to be found in the other colonial newspapers.

¹¹See chart accompanying this paper.

¹²*Newport Mercury*, August 10, 1761. Benjamin Blagg of New York and William Richards of Newport advertised two sloops to make regular trips between the towns.

¹³Bruce M. Bigelow, *The Commerce between Rhode Island and the West Indies in the Eighteenth Century*, (Ms., John Hay Library), is the authority on this important subject. Quoted by permission.

¹⁴*Newport Mercury*, June 18, 1770. A page of this issue is missing, consequently we do not know the name of the vessel or exactly where it was wrecked.

¹⁵*Newport Mercury*, August 19, 1771; June 24, 1771.

¹⁶*Newport Mercury*, June 26, 1769; June 18/25, 1768; May 28, 1770. All trips were made by the sloop Charlestown, Capt. Durfee.

¹⁷*Newport Mercury*, July 5, 1773; August 31, 1772. The trip from Georgia averaged about thirteen days. See *Newport Mercury*, July 12, 1773.

¹⁸*Newport Mercury*, August 1/8, 1768.

¹⁹*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (July, 1885), VI, 45-46.

²⁰*Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, (F. B. Dexter, ed., 2 vols., New York, 1901), I, 281.

²¹*Newport Mercury*, June 15, 1772.

²²*Newport Mercury*, June 26, 1769; May 28, 1770.

²³*Newport Mercury*, August 7, 1769, *et passim*.

²⁴*Newport Mercury*, July 13, 1772.

²⁵*Newport Mercury*, June 6, 1774.

²⁶*Newport Mercury*, July 4/11, 1768; September 2, 1771; and June 28, 1773.

²⁷*Newport Mercury*, September 6, 1773. The issue of October 9, 1769 notes the arrival of a party at Charles Town, which was probably clipped from the *South-Carolina Gazette*. This may indicate that social news was printed in that paper.

²⁸*Newport Mercury*, August 20, 1770; March 5, 1770.

²⁹McCrary, *South Carolina*, 402.

³⁰*Newport Mercury*, May 11, 1772. Col. Pollock had a place in Newport.

³¹*Newport Mercury*, August 1/8, 1768.

³²*Newport Mercury*, August 5, 1765; September 18, 1769.

³³*Newport Mercury*, July 25, 1774.

³⁴Mason, *Reminiscences*, 98*n*; *Newport Mercury*, June 6, 1774.

³⁵*Newport Mercury*, July 26, 1773.

³⁶*Newport Mercury*, October 2, 1775.

³⁷Mason, *Reminiscences*, 49-50.

³⁸*Newport Mercury*, May 16, 1774.

³⁹See Richard Cumberland's sentimental comedy, *The West Indian*, (London, 1771), for the conception of the free and easy planter that prevailed at the time.

⁴⁰G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, (Newport, 1890).

⁴¹See McCrary, *South Carolina*, *passim*., and index; also the South Carolina Historical Society's *Collections*, (1857—).

⁴²Thomas Willing Balch, *The Philadelphia Assemblies*, (Philadelphia, 1916), has lists of members, many of whom appear in the *Mercury's* lists.

⁴³*Register of the Jockey Club*, (Ms. in Hist. Soc. of Pa.); also the *History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company*, 33; and *History of the Gloucester Hunting Club*, 67, in the same library.

⁴⁴*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 169.

⁴⁵*Newport Mercury*, May 19, 1761; Berkeley, *Works*, IV, 160.

⁴⁶*Newport Mercury*, June 13/20, 1768.

⁴⁷*Newport Mercury*, June 11, July 18, 1774.

⁴⁸*Newport Mercury*, August 13, 1770.

⁴⁹*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 167-168.

⁵⁰In 1774 the population was 9,209. *A Century of Population Growth*, (Washington, 1909), 11.

⁵¹G. C. Mason, *Annals of the Redwood Library*, (Newport, 1881), 40.

⁵²Ezra Stiles, *Itineraries and other Miscellanies, . . . with a Selection from his Correspondence*, (F. B. Dexter, ed., New Haven, 1916), and *Diary, op. cit.*

⁵³See, for example, the list in the *Mercury*, June 6, 1774.

⁵⁴*Newport Mercury*, June 30, 1768; June 12, 1769; Stiles, *Diary*, I, 184 (November 13, 1771).

⁵⁵*Newport Mercury*, November 25, 1771.

⁵⁶*Newport Mercury*, July 10, 1769; July 4, 1768.

⁵⁷*Newport Mercury*, October 14, 1765.

⁵⁸Stiles, *Diary*, I, 31.

⁵⁹*Newport Mercury*, January 2, 1759.

⁶⁰*Newport Mercury*, May 4, 1772.

⁶¹*Newport Mercury*, August 17/24, 1767.

⁶²Mason, *Trinity Church*, 58.

⁶³*Newport Mercury*, December 27, 1773.

⁶⁴Mason, *Reminiscences*, 9-10.

⁶⁵*Newport Mercury*, June 4, 1770; October 31, 1763.

⁶⁶*Newport Mercury*, September 14, 1762.

⁶⁷*Newport Mercury*, November 3, 1761.

⁶⁸Mason, *Reminiscences*, 123.

⁶⁹*Newport Mercury*, September 4, 1769; September 11, 1769.

⁷⁰*Newport Mercury*, November 15, 1773.

⁷¹*Newport Mercury*, August 22, 1774.

⁷²Mason, *Reminiscences*, 101-102. Dun-fish were a species of cod.

⁷³*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), 172.

⁷⁴*Newport Mercury*, September 19, 1774.

⁷⁵Howard M. Chapin in *Providence Sunday Journal*, October 22, 1929.

⁷⁶*Newport Mercury*, April 11, 1774.

⁷⁷*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 172-173.

⁷⁸*Newport Mercury*, September 26, 1768; November 2, 1772.

⁷⁹*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 172-173.

⁸⁰Mason, *Trinity Church*, *passim*.

⁸¹Stiles, *Diary*, I, 166 (1771).

⁸²Mason describes a typical party in *Reminiscences*, 101-102.

⁸³*Newport Mercury*, May 6, 1765; October 25, 1773; May 23, 1774.

⁸⁴*Newport Mercury*, June 29, 1772.

⁸⁵*Newport Mercury*, August 14, 1769; February 22, 1773; March 1, 1773.

⁸⁶*Newport Mercury*, June 12, 1775.

SUMMER VISITORS AT NEWPORT, 1767-1775¹

Town or Place	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	1774	1775	Total
Charles Town	29	12 ²	29 ²	44	33	48	14	43 ²	4	266
Philadelphia	1	15	.....	.....	14 ²	20 ²	29 ²	13	.....	92
Maryland	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	7	.....	.....	.....	9
Georgia	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	20	4	.....	25
Boston	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
West Indies	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4
Jamaica	.....	1	.....	.....	5	20	10	18	.....	54
Total	30	29	29	45	55 ³	99	73	78	4	452

¹Compiled from files of the *Newport Mercury*, 1767-1775. Where a family was mentioned its size was assumed to be six in number.

²Others came but names not known by printer.

³Several files of the *Mercury* are missing for May and June, 1771.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Original Land Grants of Portsmouth, R. I., compiled by Edward H. West, is a manuscript atlas of ten sheets showing the earliest recorded land holdings in Portsmouth.

Washington's Headquarters, by Mabel Lorenz Ives, contains an eleven-page account of the Stephen Hopkins House in Providence.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1932, contains an article on the English ancestry of the Fiske family by G. Andrews Moriarty, F.S.A.

Frances, the Falconer's Daughter, the Mother of Governors, 1607-1677, by Elizabeth Nicholson White, is an illustrated volume of 176 pages dealing with Frances (Latham) Dungan.

Gilbert Stuart, by William T. Whitley, is a volume of 240 pages.

Berkeley's American Sojourn, by Benjamin Rand, a book of 79 pages, was published by the Harvard University Press.

A History of the Young Ladies' School, 1860-1898, and Miss Abbott's School Alumnae Association, 1912-1930, written and compiled by Mary B. Anthony and Grace P. Chapin, Providence, 1932, is an illustrated book of 57 pages.

Notes

Mr. Frederick W. York has been elected to membership in the Society.

Peace Dale Seals

Communicated by MISS CAROLINE HAZARD



The seal bearing the picture of a dove with wings expanded and with an olive branch in its mouth, surrounded by the words PEACE DALE, R. I., belonged to Rowland G. Hazard,⁷ (1801-1888) and possibly to his father, Rowland Hazard,⁶ who bought a house on the Saugatucket in July 1805, and lived there with his family for some years. Mary Peace, daughter of Isaac Peace of Bristol, Pa., was his wife. Hence the name Peace Dale and the dove.

The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

Transcribed by THEODORE G. FOSTER

(Continued from Vol. XXV, page 128.)

A List of the Persons⁽⁸⁾ who have whole Rights in *West-quanaug* as was computed, ordered, and allowed at a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanauge convened at the House of Joseph Smith in Kingston the 20th of February 1706/7 /viz/

Col. Samuel Cranston	20	39	-----	23
Major John Greene	18	47		7
Zachariah Rhodes	22	53		8
Jeremiah Clarke . .	24	36	Jeremiah Clark	10
Clement Weaver, Senior	5	41		28
Clement Weaver Jun ^r .	4	31	Mr. Fields Half Share on the South Side of Fourth Lot	27
Latham Clarke	27	30		13
Nicholas Carr	14	56		18
Weston Clarke	2	52		15
Robert Gardner	26	42		19
John Fones	13	--		20
William Vaughn	7	33	-----	24
Robert Westcot	29	55		3
William Fobes } William Pebody }	28	44		4
	1	57		12
John Rogers	17	46		26

⁸West-Quanaug or The West-Quanaug Purchase.

A number of individuals of Newport were afterwards associated with the first purchasers, among whom were Gov. John Cranston, Caleb Carr, Thomas Clark, William Foster, Clement Weaver, Aaron Davis, John Jones and Latham Clark, most or all of whom have now descendants in the town. In 1707, this purchase was divided by lot among 29 proprietors, but the first settlement was not commenced until 1717. The first settler was Ezekiel Hopkins, whose descendants are now very numerous in the town; there are also here a number of the descendants of the two Governors, John Cranston and Samuel Cranston. (A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island by John C. Pease and John M. Niles, 1819, p. 342.)

The spelling *Westenadgue* appears in Prov. Town Papers (0623), printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 199.

John Rhodes	23	35	Drawn by Ellery & Davis	2
Malichy Rhodes	6	51		16
Simon Smith	8	54		21
Andrew Harris	19	40		6
Stephen Arnold	21	48		14
Peleg Rhodes	11	34		1
Benjamin Carpenter	9	45		11
Nathaniel Waterman	25	50		22
Hugh Mosher	16	37		9
Joseph Case	12	32		5
Aaron Davis	3	43		25
Lawrence Springer Half Share	10	10	Half of a whole Share - -	17
Major William Wanton	15	49	- - - - -	- -

To the Gentlemen the Proprietors of Providence convened at the House of Mr William Turpin⁽⁹⁾ in Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island & Providence Plantation the 22^d of February 1706/7

Gentlemen WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed being a Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanaug being informed that Some of you have begun to lay out Land in the Southern Side of the Northern Branch of Pawtuxet River that cometh out of Ponhanganset Pond and lying on the Northern Side of Warwick Northern Bounds which Land is the Propriety of us the Subscribers and the Rest of our Partners.

WE do therefore in our own Behalf and also on Behalf of the Rest of our Partners forewarn and forbid you or any of you to make any Improvement of said Land as having no Right thereunto . . . As Witness our Hands this 21st of February 1706/7

Samuel Cranston
 Weston Clark
 Robert Gardner
 John Rhodes
 Simon Smith

⁹A copy of this letter appears among the Providence Town Papers (0644) and is printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 223.

March 31st 1707. The Trustees met and adjourned to the 2^d of April 1707

April 2^d 1702. The Proprietors met at the House of M^r William Bright in Newport and according to the Foregoing Agreement These underwritten paid in their Money to John Rhodes the Treasurer chosen /viz/ Major Samuel Cranston 20/ Major John Green 20/ Jeremiah Clark 20/ Aron Davis 20/ Robert Gardner 20/ Nicholas Carr 20/ Clement Weaver Sen^r 20/ Latham Clark 20/ Joseph Wilbur paid for one Half Share for Lawrence Springer 10/ Clement Weaver Jun 20/ Weston Clark 20/ Simon Smith 20/ William Fobes 20/ William Pebody 20/ John Rogers 20/ John Rhodes 20/ Malichy Rhodes 20/ Joseph Case 20. Major William Wanton 20/

Ordered That M^r John Rhodes Treasurer of the Proprietors shall forthwith agree with M^r John Mumford Surveyor to go forthwith and make a Map and Platt⁽¹⁰⁾ of said Land of Westquanaug—and said Rhodes Treasurer shall appoint such and so many to assest said Surveyor and shall pay both Surveyor and his Assestants out of the Money he hath in his Hands paid by the Company And if said Treasurer cannot get Mr. Mumford the week the other Trustees on this Main may appoint as they shall think fit for the forwarding the said Concern and We do appoint that the Trustees as this Main shall upon emmergent occasion act and do all things needful relating or concerning the Premises

Ordered That Zachariah Rhodes shall have a Share and a Half carried on at free Cost . . . This was ordered by the Trustees on the Main of the 14th of April 1707.

¹⁰That difficulties were encountered in the attempt to make this survey is shown by Providence Town Paper 0647 (printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 227); a warrant dated May 1, 1707 and issued by Governor Cranston, wherein it is related that officials of the Town of Providence arrested and imprisoned the Westconnaug surveyors. P. T. P. (0651), printed XVII, 233, is a summons in this case dated June 10, 1707 and referring the case to the September 1707 court.

Memorandum That I Zachariah Rhodes for Consideration of a Right and Half of the Lands of Westquanaug to be carried on without any charge to me DO Declare that I shall in no way impede or hinder the Proprietors of Westquanaug but will forward and help them as much as I may by any Deeds or Writings that are in my Custody Neither shall I help any that shall oppose them either directly or indirectly . . . Witness my Hand the 14th of April 1707. Signed in the Presence of Simon Smith Clerk

Zachy Rhodes

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanauge at the House of M^r William Bright the 10th of June 1708

It is orderd that the former Committee chosen by the Proprietors for managing said Purchase is still continued: three of the major Part of them to meet and treat with the committee chosen by the Town of Providence⁽¹¹⁾ for the Settlement between those of Providence and the Proprietors aforesaid and what the Major Part shall act or do on the Premises shall be taken and deemd authoritative to all interests and Purposes—The Names of the Committee are Col Samuel Cranston M^r Richard Greene M^r Robert Gardner M^r Simon Smith M^r John Rhodes Weston Clark and Malichy Rhodes who have hereby full Power to move from Time to Time and Place to Place while the Mater be compleatd if possible to satisfaction—and We do appoint the First Meeting on the 18th Day of July next at Warwick at the Hous of M^r James Carder and that the charge of the Treaty be borne and paid by the Treasurer of the Proprietors—John Fones is chosen Clerk for this Meeting - - -

A True Copy

John Fones Clerk

This is treaty entered per M^r Simon Smith Clerk of the Proprietors

¹¹The record of the appointment of the committee of the Proprietors of Providence on May 18, 1708 is Prov. Town Paper 0664, printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 239-240.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanauge this Fifth Day of September 1711 at Newport

Present

The Honourable Gov Samuel Cranston
 M^r Weston Clarke
 M^r Robert Gardner
 M^r John Rhodes
 M^r Malichy Rhodes &
 Simon Smith

Ordered that whereas M^r Richard Greene who was one of the Committee is Dead M^r Job Green is chosen in his Room or Stead

And Whereas M^r Robert Gardner one of the Committee hath sold his Right to Major James Brown It is voted by the Committee that the said Gardner shall be indemnified in the said Sale to the said Brown notwithstanding the Injunction in the Third Article of our Agreement February 20th 1706

This Meeting is adjourn'd to Tuesday come Sen night the 18th Instant at Warwick and if that be foul weather then to meet the next convenient Day

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Providence and the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanauge at Warwick this 18th of September 1811⁽¹²⁾

Agreed That a Petition or Exhitation be drawn to set forth the Claim of Providence as to the Title within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut Colony and also the Title of the Proprietors of Westquanaug which lyeth in said Colony which Petition is to be presented to the Court of assestants held at New London the 13th of October next—And the Men to draw said Petition &c are Cap^t Thomas Fenner and Simon Smith and Cap^t Thomas Fenner and M^r Malichy

¹²Error for 1711.

Rhodes are to carry said Petition &c and the charge to be borne equally by both Parties— And the Persons who draw up said Petition shall have full Power to Sign the same on Behalf of the Proprietors of Providence and the Proprietors of Westquanaug⁽¹³⁾

And it is farther agreed that if their shall be any Occasion to go to Law for the Lands of Providence or the Lands of Westquanaug which lay within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut Then the Proprietors of Providence and the Proprietors of Westquanaug shall be at equal Charge for carrying on the same and what Title we pitch upon to sue we to agree to at next October Court

13

To the Honourable the Governour Deputy Governour Assistants and Worshipfull Representatives sitting in Court at New Haven in the County of New Haven within and for her majestys Colony of Conicicut the 11th of October 1711

The Exhibition and humble Petetion of the Committee of the Proprietors of Providence and the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquodniuke Namely Col^w Samuel Cranston Esq^r: Maj^r: Joseph Jenckes Esq^r: Cap^t: Thomas Fenner Esq^r: Maj^r: James Brown Esq^r Cap^t: Samuel Wilkinson M^r: Weston Clark Esq^r: Lt^w: Thomas Harris M^r: John Roades M^r: Resolved Waterman M^r: Job Green Esq^r M^r: Joseph Brown M^r: Malachi Roades M^r: Joshua Winsor and Cap^t: Simon Smith Esq^r:—All of her Majestys Colony of Road-Island and Providence Plantations Humbly Sheweth and Exhibiteth to your Honours

That the Proprietors of the Anciant Town of Providence having upward of sixty yeares since Purchased of the Indian Natives the Lands where they now Live Namely all the Lands Betwixt Patucket and Pautuxit Rivers And so to Extend from a Hill Called Fox-Hill Twenty Miles Westward &c: The which sd Purchase was made and Granted by one of the most Greatest sachems of the Narraganset Countrey and Confirmed by all the Chief Princes of the Natives and hath had a good Sanchon from England So that it Cannot be thought that So firme a Title should be Eclipsed or Deminished under any Presents Whatsoever &c:

Item the Proprietors of Westquodniuk by anciant Deeds and Confirmations Upward of fifty Yeares since Purchased of the Indian sachems a Certain Tract of Land or Part of the Countrey known and Called by the Name of Westquodniuk Bounded Partly on the Eastern and North

Eastern Parts by the aforesd Lands of Providence South and South westerly by the Lands of Agans west and north westerly by Quinippoge Lands and northerly by the Neppeneck Lands which Lands was Confirmed by Mosup alias Quissuckquans the Grand Chief sachem of the Narraganset Countrey Purchased by the Assent, and so well approved of by the Colony of Road-Island that they Enacted that it should be a Township they thinking then that it was all within their Own Jurisdiction

NOW the matter is that since, Commissioners having bin Chosen by Each Colony to state the Boundarys betwixt them as to Jurisdiction of Government And they having Done the same It now appears that there is neare two miles of the Western part of Providence Purchase the whole Bredth thereof Lying within the Jurisdiction of your Colony of Connciticut

AND also a Great Part of the Purchase of Westquodniuk Lyeth within your Jurisdiction Contrary to what we Imagined before the Lines were Run So that we think it Our Duty now to Lay this Exhibition before your Honours to show what Title we have within your Jurisdiction And the Rather because we are therunto Incitted by a Clause in yor Printed Statutes Pag the 64:

NOW our Huble Petetion to yor Honours is that you would Give us your Leave that we may have free Accession to make Improvement and settle those Lands so Anciantly Purchased by us Now Lying within your Jurisdiction And we as to that Part shall be Obediant and submissive subjects under your Good Government

AND this we are the more Encouraged to Request Considering it was a special Article in the agreement that Propriety should be maintained and that all Anciant Grants Allowed by Each Colony should stand good Notwithstanding the agreement Concerning Jurisdiction betwixt sd Colonys Upon which the Colony of Road Island have bin Very Carfull to maintain Propriety and namely upon several in the Western Parts of Westerly who after the Jurisdiction line was Run betwixt the Colonys they fell within the Jurisdiction of the Colony of Road Island although their Title was the same wth: Connciticut yet the Colony of Road Island Maintained their Title the Jurisdiction notwithstanding

Wherefore we Pray that your Hon^r: will Do the Like and grant our Petetion and Give to Our Messengers, viz, Maj^r: Joseph Jenckes and M^r: Malacky Roades the Bearers hereof a fovourable admission into your Hond: Assembly who will be furnished with such Deeds & manuscripts as will Evince and make Probation of this which is Laide before you (if your Hon^r: Require the same) And we Pray that your Honours would give them Some Answer that they may Return the same to Us And in the meane time We Remain yo^r: Humble Serv^t: to Command

At a Meeting of the committee of the Proprietors of Westquanaug at Warwick Novem^r the 17th 1711

Orderd that the Treasurer M^r John Rhodes pay unto M^r Malichy Rhodes for his Services and Journey to the Assembly at Connecticut at New Haven the Sum of Five Pounds Two Shillinds

Orderd that Capt Simon Smith in Behalf of the Committee write another Letter to the Assembly of Connecticut for the obtaining their possitive Answer stating our Claim within their Jurisdiction as is agreed upon by this Committee

Orderd that when the season of the Year will permit that Malichy Rhodes be appointed Surveyor with the Assestance of M^r John Rhodes to Survey and lay out the Lands of Westquanauge within the Colony Line according to agreement with the Town of Providence and to proportions the same as near as may be to the Right of each Proprietor and that said Rhodes take such Assestance as the Work will require so far as relates to their Part . . .

Ordered that this Committee be adjourned to Newport the last Wednesday in February next or any of the Three Days following⁽¹⁴⁾

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanaug at Newport June 11th 1712.

Providence October the 6th 1711 By Order of Both Comittees Signed
by Us

Thomas Fenner
Sim^o: Smith

(Connecticut Archives, Colonial Boundaries, I, 200 a & b.) *Courtesy of the Connecticut State Library.*

This petition was considered at the meeting of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in October, 1711, but no action was taken at that time. (Conn. Col. Rec. V, p. 277.)

¹⁴On March 22, 1711-12, Nathaniel Waterman of Providence bequeathed to "my loveing Grandsons the two Zuriell Watermans all my lands in the Place called Wesquenoid". His will was presented for probate on April 22, 1712. (Prov. Rec. VII, 99.)

Whereas there was a Meeting of the Proprietors of said Westquanaug appointed at the House of Robert Nichols of Newport the 10th Instant in order to supply the Treasurer with a further Stock of Money to carry on the Affairs of said Purchase and to defray the Charge of the Surveyor &c in the laying out said Purchase into Farms or Lots and the said Meeting failing for want or through the Neglect of the Proprietors making their Appearances at said Meeting: The Committee considering the Premises and the Trust and Difficulty of getting the Proprietors to meet together and finding that they have full Power and Authority given them for the full and entire Menagement and finishing all Matters and Things relating said Purchase——We have viewed the Treasurers Accounts and find that the Money already deposited is all paid out towards the incident charges that have already accrued

We do therefore order that for the Defraying and carrying on the further charge that Each Proprietor having a Whole Share in said Purchase shall pay or cause to be paid unto M^r John Rhodes of Pawtuxet Treasurer or to his order the Sum of one Pound and so each Proprietor having more or less than a whole share to pay according to that Proportion: and that the said Sum or Sums shall be paid to Said Treasurer on or before the First Tuesday of September next

Malachy Rhodes Clerk

At a Meeting of the Major Part of the committee of Westquanaug at Newport September the 13th 1714

Whereas M^r Malachy Rhodes of Pawtuxet Deceased was appointed and constituted Clerk and Surveyor to the Proprietors of the said Purchase and having the Register Book in his custody We have now chosen Job Green of Warwick clerk and Register to said Proprietors in the Room and Stead of Malachy Rhodes Deceased and that he shall go forthwith and demand and receive the Register Book at the Executrix of said Rhodes and any Writings of

said Proprietors and give a Receipt for the same and to [? account] and do all things needful on the Premises

And farther that he the said Job Greene do with the Advice and concurrence of the committee on the Main Land constitute and appoint an able and well qualified Person as Surveyor or Surveyors in the Stead & Place of said Rhodes deceased so as the said Purchase may be fully Surveyed and Plotted and all other Things done and accomplished with the Town of Providence according to Agreement with them and to make Return of his or their Proceedings to the Committee at Providence the 28th Day of October next at which Time We do appoint a Meeting then to do all things needful therein Job Greene Clerk

At a Meeting of part of the Committee with some of the Proprietors at Providence the 28th of October 1714

Whereas Job Greene presented a Map of his Proceedings together with Major William Hopkins with the assistance of Major Thomas Fenner in that affair in the North Side at the Dividing Line according to the agreement with the Proprietors of Providence but there appearing but a small part of the Proprietors the Meeting was adjourned to Warwick on the Sixteenth Day of November following for a more full Number of the Company But wind and weather hindering there were but a small Appearance—But those that met agreed as followeth That Job Greene should proceed to finish the Laying out the First Division with the Advice of Major Thomas Fenner and M^r John Rhodes and to finish the Division by the last of May next ensuing in order to come to a Lotment of the same—And further the finding that there hath been a failure on most part of the Proprietors in paying of Twenty Shillings apiece to John Rhodes Treasurer according to the order of the Committee at Newport June 11th 1712 for a further Supply to defray the incident Charges of said Purchase Therefore it is agreed on that each Proprietor that is behind in paying do forthwith pay said Sum to the Treas-

urer in order to defray the Charge of Surveying and it is further proposed that Major Fenner be added to the Committee in the Room and Stead of Malichy deceased

Signed per Order Job Greene Clerk⁽¹⁵⁾

At a Meeting of the Committee at Newport May the 9th 1715

It is agreed on That Major Thomas Fenner is accepted to be one of the Committee according to the Proposals at Warwick and that Capt. Benjamin Ellery is hereby chosen and added to the Committee in the Room and Stead of M^r Weston Clark he having sold his part of the Propriety of Westquanaug to M^r Joseph Whipple of Providence by consent of the Committee and it is further agreed on that Job Greene do proceed to lay out the Remanding Part of said First Division as soon as may be and to take what Assistance he thinks proper in order to come to Alotment but said Greene's own Business hindering him from proceeding forthwith it is consented to by the Major Part of the Committee that M^r John Rhodes shall agree with Josiah Westcoat Surveyor to lay out the remaining Part of said First Division with the Expedition in order to Alotment and said Rhodes is to provide Assesstants to the Surveyor and the whole Charge of the Surveying to be paid out of the Proprietors Treasury

Job Greene Clerk

¹⁵George Lawton of Portsmouth and wife Rebecca, On January 3, 1715, sold to Job Lawton of Newport one half share of land at Weshquanoak which was formerly bought by his father George Lawton from John Crandall on December 12, 1682 (R. I. Land Ev. III, 224).

(To be continued)

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



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PROVIDENCE


RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI

APRIL, 1933

No. 2

PACKET SHIP "RISING STATES" ADVERTISES FOR BUSINESS

<p>FOR CHARLESTON, (S. C.)</p>  <p>THE Packet Ship RISING STATES, ELISHA SWIFT, Master, will sail on the 14th instant. For Freight or Passage, apply to the Master on board, at Graves's Wharf, or to EVERETT & STILLWELL. <i>March 10, 1812.</i></p>	<p>Whi H men whic be p and of L all c purc E</p>
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ADVERTISEMENT IN RHODE ISLAND AMERICAN OF MARCH 13, 1812

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Issued Quarterly

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI

APRIL, 1933

No. 2

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

A Providence Packet Ship of 1812

By GEORGE L. MINER

The center illustration in this issue of the COLLECTIONS shows a most interesting portrait of the 169 ton ship *Rising States* of Providence in the year 1812. The drawing, dated November 9, 1812, was made by Charles Simmons, and is done on a sheet of linen rag paper with india ink of brownish-black tint. The sails, flags, water and sky are washed in with water colors. The sails are a deep tan and the water and sky a pale blue. Bright colors—red, yellow and blue—pick out the flags and the eagle on the stern. Altogether, this old ship portrait, somewhat crude in workmanship and detail, has a great deal of delicacy and charm.

This picture is owned by Mr. C. Prescott Knight of Providence, and is one of a number of family heirlooms that recently came to him from a relative who handed on the tradition that the ship picture was from a collection of articles once belonging to Moses Brown, Providence merchant.

A few interesting facts have come to light about the ship *Rising States*. She was a packet ship voyaging in 1812 between Providence and Charleston, South Carolina. First notice of her sailing appears in the *Providence Gazette* of Saturday, March 14, 1812: "Port of Providence. Entered: Ship . . . *Rising States*, Swift, from Charleston."

In the same week, on the front page of the *Rhode Island American*, appears an advertisement to the effect that the Packet Ship *Rising States*, Elisha Swift, Master, will sail March 14 for Charleston, S. C. This advertisement is reproduced on the front cover of *COLLECTIONS*. The Packet's return is reported in the *Gazette* of April 11, and her clearance for Charleston again is reported April 25, 1812. A little later in the year the *Gazette* reported the arrival of Ship *Rising States*, Swift, from Charleston, May 23. And in its issue of May 30, the *Gazette* reports *Rising States*, Swift, Master, cleared for Charleston.

PACKET SHIPS COMPETE

The *Rising States* had a competitor whose sailing was advertised in the *Gazette* of March 7, 1812:

"For Charleston (S. C.) the regular Packet Ship *Morning Star*, Samuel Grafton, Master, will sail on the 8th of March next, Wind and Weather permitting. For Freight or Passage, apply to Grafton and Hawkins, or the Master on board, at Moses Eddy and Brothers' Wharf."

The owners of the *Rising States* appear in a manuscript list about 1818 in the Society's archives as Humphrey & Everett. The March 1812 advertisement of the sailing was signed by Everett & Stillwell.

TWO 1812 CARGOES

Among the old shipping documents in the files of the Society, Mr. Chapin found the two manifests of the first two voyages of the *Rising States* noted in the port entries and clearances.

The first manifest is dated at Charleston, February 26, 1812. It lists 16 entries:

Thirty-five Barrells Rice consigned to Giles Luther, Bristol.	
Eighteen do.	“
Forty-five Hogs heads Molasses	“
Twelve Tierces Cotton machinery	“
Fifteen Bbbs Rice	“
One barrell bacon, two bbbs Harness	“
Fourteen boxes Cotton Machinery	“
Twenty-six hhds Molasses	“
Eight barrells Rice, to George Graves, Providence.	
Seven Barrells Do. to Seth Thayer	“
Five hhds & One Tierce Cotton Seeds, to E. Swift, Providence	
One bag Coffee-One bale sheepskins, to E. Swift, Providence	
Sundry pieces Cotton Machinery, to Giles Luther, Bristol	
Seven Bales Cotton, to Giles Luther Bristol	
Twenty one Barrells Rice, to Everett & Stillwell, Providence	
Ten Bales Cotton, to Everett & Stillwell, Providence	

The manifest of the voyage from Providence to Charleston lists nine items:

1. Two Hundred Bbbs Menhaden Fish, shipped from Sam'l P. Allen to consignee E. Swift.
2. One hundred Bbbs Bread, from Wm. Potter to E. Swift.
3. One Hundred Bbbs Apples, from George Evans to E. Swift.
4. Forty Bbbs Potatoes, from George Graves to E. Swift.
5. Four Boxes Cards, from Alex Jones to A. D. Meurry.
6. Seven Bbbs Pork, from Everett & Stillwell, Providence, to Stillwell & Everett, Charleston.
7. Six Box's Cotton goods, ditto.
8. Four Box's Bonnets, ditto.
9. One Hundred Reams Wrapping paper, ditto.

(Cards and Bonnets are names of cotton machinery.)

What happened to Packet Ship *Rising States* has not been discovered. Indication of change of owners or master appear on the back of the portrait of the ship. There in the same handwriting that is seen on the face and which states that it was Drawed by Charles Simmons, the following inscription is written: "A Present for Thomas Jackson, Providence."

The foregoing fragmentary facts regarding a Providence ship of 1812 open up a glimpse of an interesting period in the maritime history of Narragansett Bay. What effect had the War of 1812 on the *Rising States*; what became of her and her rival, the *Morning Star*? We do know that Providence commerce went flat at the time of the war, and that it revived and flourished again in 1815, and reached its high mark in 1819.

A note on the tonnage of Rhode Island ports in 1810 is given in *Staples' Annals*: Providence, 15,864 tons; Newport, 12,517; Bristol, 777.

A Short History of Jamestown, on the Island of Conanicut, Rhode Island

By W. L. WATSON

In writing an historical sketch of Jamestown or, in fact, any of the older New England towns, it has always seemed to me that the actual history really began in the 14th and 15th centuries, in those widely separated movements which, with the great aid of the invention of printing, led up to the Reformation of the 16th century. While the Reformation was essentially a religious and moral movement, of necessity it developed in the individual the feeling of responsibility and independence of thought. The courage and determination of the Pilgrims to leave home and friends and seek a new life in an unknown country was not born over night. It was, instead, the culmination of many years of struggle, privation and persecution, but always with an ever increasing elevation of the soul, clarification of the mind and the development of conscience.

From the beginning of the Reformation, about 1515, down to 1607, when that little band at Scroby, exiled by the English government, crossed to Holland and settled

in Leyden, this idea of freedom in religious thought had spread in all the governments of the old world. But the little colony in Leyden became convinced that they could never attain their ideals amid the surroundings of Europe, and we have that epoch-making voyage of the Mayflower in 1620. The reasons for this voyage, and the strength of character it took to make it, should be the first consideration in any history of early New England.

The first voyage having been successfully made, others soon followed and by 1644, thirty-four thousand people had settled in New England. The Bay Colony, developed more along commercial lines, soon attained the greater prominence. The government was started as a democracy, the governor and his assistants being chosen by the freemen. But in 1631, it was decreed that none but members of the church could be freemen. The government thus became a pure theocracy, controlled, unfortunately, by a few narrow minded, superstitious religious bigots. Into these surroundings came Roger Williams in 1631. He was soon (1635) banished from the colony because of his religious views. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson also preached a gospel that offended the church government. She, too, was banished "out of our jurisdiction as a woman not fit for our society." Before and during the trial many of her followers and others in sympathy with her, had been warned to leave the colony or they would be summoned before the court "to answer such things as shall be objected." Realizing what the outcome would be, this band, under the leadership of Dr. John Clarke and William Coddington, chartered a sailing vessel with the intention of founding their own colony somewhere on Long Island or the shores of Delaware Bay.

While the vessel was rounding Cape Cod a few of them went overland to Providence to confer with Roger Williams. Being in full sympathy with them and desiring such people as neighbors, he suggested that they purchase the Island of Acquidneck from the Indians. (It will be

recalled that one of the many points of disagreement between Williams and the Boston authorities was his contention that the king had no right to the land in America, as it belonged to the Indians.) His suggestion met with the approval of the company and after several meetings with the Indian Chiefs Connonicus and Miantanomu, who were very friendly with Roger Williams, a compact of government was drawn up on the 7th day of the first month (March) and on the 24th day of the same month title to "the great island of Acquidneck lying from hence Eastward in this Bay, as also the marsh or grasse upon Quinuncutt and the rest of the islands in the Bay (excepting Prudence)", passed from the Narragansett Indians to "Mr. Coddington and his friends under him." Here, I believe, we have the first mention of Conanicut in any official record.

The settlement was established at Pocasset (now Portsmouth), and in the first year it has been estimated that over one hundred families joined the new colony. Then came the division of the colony and the more substantial members, under the leadership of Dr. John Clarke and William Coddington, moved to the southern part of the island and established themselves at what is now Newport.

In the records of the first town meeting at Newport we find the following entry:

"It is agreed and ordered, that the Plantation now begun at this Southwest end of the island, shall be called Newport: and that all the landes lying Northward and Eastward from the said Towne towards Pocasset, for the space of five miles, so across from sea to sea with all ye landes Southward and Westward, bounded with the main sea, together with the small Islands and the grass of Cunnunegott, is appointed for the accommodation of ye said Towne."

Here we have the second mention of Conanicut, but this time with a special reference which has a major bearing on the history of the island.

In picturing conditions with which the settlers of practically every town in New England had to contend, it must

be remembered that all the country was a virgin forest. It was even so at Newport. But for many years the Narragansett Indians had used Conanicut for a summer camping ground and here, after first having cleared the ground, they raised their crops of corn and beans. Their method of clearing was to set fire to the forest when conditions were favorable and let it burn. As a result large areas were cleared and had grown up to "grasse." This was a most valuable crop for the settlers at Newport who, as yet had very limited pasture for their cattle. Hence the "grasse of Cunnunegott" was especially set apart "for the accomodation of ye said Towne."

But trouble arose over this same "grasse" and in the Land Evidence Book we find the following entry dated March 10, 1656.

"For as much as it is frequently declared that of late there have been endeavors used by some who are neither inhabitants of this Island or members of this Colony, to get into their possession and power of disposal the above Island Quononaquitt. And considering how commodiously ye said Island lieth for the enlarging the acomodations of some of us, in regard to ye nearness of it to our dwellings as also considering the great straight that many of us are in, for want of commonage for cattle, Therefore and for the preventing any foreigners getting into their possession whereby inconvenience and disturbance might possibly, yea and probably arise to ye government of this Colony.

"We whose names are hereto subscribed do as above said for ourselves or heirs etc. agree as followeth: Viz.

"First, That for the procuring the aforesaid Island Quononaquitt for ye occasions aforesaid we do hereby authorize and appoint seven of our number (namely) William Coddington Esq. Benedict Arnold, Sen. William Brenton or in his absence William Baulston in his stead, also Richard Smith of Narragansett, also Capt. John Cranston, Caleb Carr and John Sanford to use the best of their endeavors to make a full and firm purchase of the aforsaid Island Quononaquitt for and to themselves & for the rest of us who are in this present writing hereafter in order mentioned and also here unto to subscribe, and to the end premised the persons aforesaid are hereby fully and absolutely impowered and authorized, to meet and agree upon any direction about getting the assurance from any Sachem and of the Indians . . . concerning said Island Quononaquitt, as also for the Island called Dutch Island to the intent Above said."

To this agreement there are 98 signatures.

Richard Smith Junr. negotiated with the Indian sachems and a price of £100, to be paid in wampum and peage, was agreed upon. The sachems, with their braves, and the purchasers assembled at the house of William Coddington in Newport where the deed was signed and witnessed, after which it was ratified by the passing of turf and twig from other sachems to Caleb Carr and Francis Brinley. Joshua Fisher made a survey and computed the area of the island, which was found to contain about 6,000 acres. It was agreed to allot 4,800 acres for division among the proprietors, 260 for a township, 20 acres of which were to be used for an Artillery Garden, a "place for buriel of ye dead," a prison house, and for a road four rods wide to run across the island, and 240 acres were reserved for a townplot to be divided in the proportion of one acre of townplot to 20 acres of farm land. The remaining land was reserved for highways and for reallocation to those whose lands proved to be undesirable.

It will thus be seen that the originators of the purchase had quite an elaborate scheme. The farm lands were to be at the north and south ends of the island, and the four rod road, which is now Narragansett Avenue, formerly Ferry Road, was to be the main road for the townplot.

It was further agreed that the land was to be divided in the same proportion as the amount subscribed, thus we read:

"William Coddington of Newport Esq., & Benedict Arnold, Senr. shall each of them pay one twentieth part of the whole charge and shall each of them receive one twentieth part of the premised purchase, and William Brenton, Merchant shall pay one fortieth part and one, one hundred and eleventh part of the whole charge and shall receive one fortieth part and one, one hundred and eleventh part of the premised purchase. And Richard Smith Senr., Capt. John Cranston, Richard Smith Junr. Robert Carr, Caleb Carr, Francis Brinley, James Barker, James Rogers, John Sailes, John Green, Valentine Whitman, and John Sanford shall each of them pay one fortieth part of the whole charge and shall receive one fortieth part of the premised purchase."

And so it goes through the whole list of 98 names until the last which reads:

"Thomas Case, Anthony Ravenscraft, Thomas Oliver, and John Fones shall each of them pay one nine hundredth part of the whole charge and shall each of them receive one nine hundredth part of the premised purchase."

A letter written by Francis Brinley, one of the purchasers, states that "John Green . . . was the first person that improved his land, and immediately sowed hay seed on his land where about he intended to build a house." A description of this house will be taken up later.

The original plan of the purchasers provided for town plots as well as farming sections. The four rod road, now Narragansett Avenue, connecting the ferries, was the old Indian trail and along this were located the town plots. The farms were at the north and south ends of the island and every 20 acres of farm land carried one acre of town plot. But those actively interested were farmers and they generally sold or traded the town plot to which they were entitled. Then again the purchase of the island, with many, was simply a speculation in land and they sold their interest even before the property was divided. All these things resulted in great confusion and in 1680 the island was resurveyed by Robert Hazard and all the records obtainable were ordered presented to the town clerk for recording.

All this would seem to indicate that the island was not gaining many permanent residents, and for lack of land evidence records we must turn to another source for further information.

Conanicut is an island, and Newport was the only market for products grown there. Most of the residents must have had their own boats, but in a letter written in 1675, Captain Church stated that, at the time of the Great Swamp fight, when he was summoned from his home in Rehoboth to Warwick, he crossed the bay by way of the ferries, and there seems to be no question that he referred to ferries from Newport to Conanicut and from Conanicut to Narra-

gansett. If there was travel enough to support two ferries, one on each side of the island, it is quite evident that many settlers had taken up a permanent residence on the island.

The history¹ of these ferries is most unusual and intensely interesting. The establishing of some regular means of getting to "market" would be the first necessity of an island population, and while Captain Church mentions such ferries in 1675 it is evident that they had then been in operation several years. The first license to operate a ferry was granted in 1695 to Caleb Carr, afterward governor of the colony, but records show that he had already operated the ferry many years. The landing in Newport was at exactly the same spot as is the present ferry landing, at the foot of Mill Street, formerly Carr's Lane, and on the property of Caleb Carr. The landing on Conanicut was about opposite the south end of Gould Island, at the east end of North Ferry Road, now Eldred Avenue. The old stone wharf is still to be seen and is sometimes referred to as Howland's Wharf. North Ferry Road extended directly west to the west shore, and while there is no wharf in evidence at this point, the stones along the shore seem to be the remains of what once was a stone wharf. The landing for this west ferry on the mainland was at Plum Beach.

It is hard to determine just how long the ferries were operated at these points, but in 1709 we find that John Carr, son of Caleb, was granted a petition for the renewal of his license. At the same time a license was granted to Robert Barker to operate a ferry from Jamestown to Newport, thus giving two ferries between Newport and Jamestown. On the west side a license was granted to Capt. Josiah Arnold and also one to John and Jeremiah Smith to operate from Boston Neck. This seems a superabundance, but it must be remembered that these "ferries" were simply sailboats, operating at the mercy of wind and tide. Dr. McSpar-

¹*Rhode Island Ferries* by Dr. and Mrs. Charles V. Chapin, also R. I. Hist. Coll. XIV, 111.

ron tells of catching a ferry just before a storm and the ferry did not sail again for two days, and on the east side a boat once left Newport in the afternoon, got caught in the ice off Rose Island and was carried through the passage, beyond Brenton's Reef, not arriving at Jamestown until late the next morning.

The ferry from Newport to Jamestown was owned by descendants of Caleb Carr until 1873, a period of 178 years. The other ferries changed hands frequently. At one time the colony undertook to operate the west ferry, but soon gave it up and sold all the equipment and rights to Abel Franklin for "the sum of Three Thousand and Five Hundred Pounds in good and passable bills of public credit of said Colony old Tenor." (This was the time during which the Colony was experimenting with fiat money; the amount paid was worth less than £500 silver money.)

In 1873 the Jamestown and Newport Ferry Company was organized and the Steamer Jamestown began her regular trips. But at the northern end of the island was a ferry, so called, which operated only Saturdays, the day the farmers "went to town" to trade their produce. The boat left from the foot of Carr's Lane. The gathering farmers would sit on the water fence awaiting the arrival of Sam Wright, whose "Goot morning, chentlemens, if such ye be" was the real signal for departure. But the newly organized ferry company objected to even this competition. The boat was purchased and the last sail boat ferry to Newport disappeared from the island.

The record of the Carr family in connection with the ferry is quite remarkable. Caleb Carr founded the first ferry sometime before 1695, his son John received the first license to operate the ferry in 1709. Ownership of the ferry was handed down from father to son through five generations of Samuel Carrs to 1873. George C. Carr was organizer and first president (1873-1902) of the Jamestown and Newport Ferry Company; Thomas G. Carr was president, 1902-1908, and his son, George C. Carr, has been treasurer,

except for one year, since 1913. So, except for eleven years, a descendant of Caleb Carr has owned the Newport ferry or been an officer in the ferry company from 1675 to the present time—a period of 259 years.

In following the history of the ferries we see the development of the island. But there is other evidence. Back in 1678, when there were but two sailboat ferries operating, we find a petition by Caleb Carr and Francis Brinley to the General Assembly to incorporate the town. This was granted on November 4th the same year, "the inhabitants to have the same priviledges and libertyes as were granted to New Shoreham." The new town was named James Towne, in honor of James I of England.

At the first town meeting the records show the following officers elected:

TOWN MEETING FOR THE ELECTION OF OFFICERS

April 1679

John Fones chosen Moderator	Engaged
John Fones chosen clerk of said town	Engaged
Mr. Caleb Carr, Sen'r., Mr. Francis Brinley, Caleb Carr, Jun'r., and Nicholas Carr chosen to be Town Counsell	Engaged
Ebenezer Slocum and Michaell Kally chosen to be the two constables of the said town, but Michaell Kally obstinately Refusing to take his engage- ment to said office, Caleb Carr, Jun'r. chosen in his stead	
Ebenezer Slocum and Caleb Carr, Jun'r.	Engaged to their said offices.
Peter Wells chosen town sargeant	Engaged
Nicholas Carr and Caleb Carr, Jun'r. chosen to be viewers of cattle, sheeps Swine and Horses wich may be carried or transported from this Township.	

John Fones

Ebenezer Slocum ye two deputies for ye court.

The first town hall was on the North Road just south of North Ferry Road. The inhabitants were predominantly farmers and the vision of a settlement on the town plots, four miles south of North Ferry Road, was not realized until many years later. The only part of the town plot which was used was the Artillery Garden. It was evidently intended to have this for a village green but it was early used for a burial ground and is so used today. There are stones standing that bear dates in the early 1700's.

There were four main highways, one running across the island on the old Indian trail through the proposed town plot. One ran north and south from this road to the north end of the island, another from the Indian trail south to the beach, and the other, North Ferry Road, ran east and west connecting the ferries. But many of the farms did not touch any of these highways, so an interminable number of roads were laid out. These were not fenced and many ran through other men's property. This led to endless trouble and lasted many years. There is a story told about the proposal to close one of these roads because it was not used. This was opposed by Robert Watson and to prove that it was used, he yoked up his oxen to the ox cart and drove up and down it all day with his wife contentedly knitting, seated in a chair placed in the cart. That night the opposition felled a number of trees, thus closing the road, but old Robert cleared these up the next morning and resumed his solemn journey. In the end, however, he lost out and the road was closed. A later owner of the property deeded that part of the farm back to the town to be used for a road if it was ever thought best to open it again. This happened some seventy-five years ago and was the last of the controversies regarding roads.

The story of these old roads naturally leads to the old houses. It will be recalled that Francis Brinley stated that "John Green was the first to improve his land etc." As near

as can be determined he built his house about 1672 on what is now known as Shoreby Hill. The house still stands but has been so rebuilt, repaired and added to that all trace of the original house is lost. There are portions of the eastern part that possibly have the original timbers. Joseph Greene, a Quaker and a descendant of John, who gave this farm in trust for the benefit of the Friend's Church, described it as, "My farm on the Island of Conanicut known by the name of the Greene Farm, and the house thereon standing in which I now live (where my predecessors of the same name have lived for generations back, if not from the first settlement of the Island by English Emigrants)." Among the stipulations of his will, he ordered that his clock be kept in the southeast corner of the east front room and that the west front chamber be kept in constant readiness for "Ministers and others traveling in the service of Truth." The room was to be furnished with "two good bedsteads, two beds, two bolsters, two pair of pillows, and other necessary furniture." This will was contested, and was in court many years before it was finally broken.

Another of the old houses is the Samuel Carr House, located on the North Road near the center of the island about four miles north of the Green farmhouse. It was built about 1686 by Governor Caleb Carr for his son Edward. Like the old Bull house in Newport, it was built partly of wood and partly of stone. The stones of the western end are different from any found on Conanicut and are laid in the same kind of mortar as was found in the Bull house and the Old Stone Mill. The walls were twenty or more inches thick. Like the Greene farmhouse it has been rebuilt and repaired. The immense chimney, which was in the outer wall of the house, fell during a gale and the eastern half has been rebuilt. It was occupied up to two years ago but is now deserted and uncared for.

About three miles northeast of the Edward Carr house is the house built by Capt. Thomas Paine, about 1680. It is now the summer residence of Robert Vose. This house, also,

has been rebuilt and enlarged but still retains the immense chimney with its old-fashioned fireplaces, the uncovered beams in the ceiling, and a quaint china closet with glass doors built in the corner of the front room. Unlike the other old houses on the island, this one has its front door on the east instead of the south.

Capt. Paine was commander of one of the first privateer vessels sailing out of Narragansett Bay. In 1690 a fleet of seven French privateers appeared off the New England coast, capturing Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and Block Island. Capt. Paine with two sloops and ninety men was sent against them. Off Block Island he encountered five of them and, though greatly outnumbered, engaged the enemy until night separated them. The next day the French put to sea, but Capt. Paine gave chase and compelled them to sink a prize loaded with wines and brandy.

From the records it would seem that Capt. Paine did a little privateering on his own account. He was an intimate friend of the famous Capt. Kidd, who visited him at Jamestown.¹ Lord Bellemont's journal for Sept. 26, 1699, reads: "I also examined Capt'n Thomas Paine (formerly a pirate) upon his oath, relating to goods or treasure, imported by Capt'n William Kidd, and reported to be left by Kidd with the said Paine." This same year, when Capt. Kidd and his wife were imprisoned in Boston, Mrs. Kidd wrote to Capt. Paine requesting him to give the bearer twenty-four ounces of gold for their support while in jail. In spite of the foregoing, Capt. Paine was a captain in the commissioned officers of the town and Dr. McSparron occasionally held services of the Church of England at his house. When John J. Watson owned this farm, he started the "Social Library" in 1870. This was the first library in the town, and until recent years the list of books was still pasted on the door of the cupboard where the books were kept.

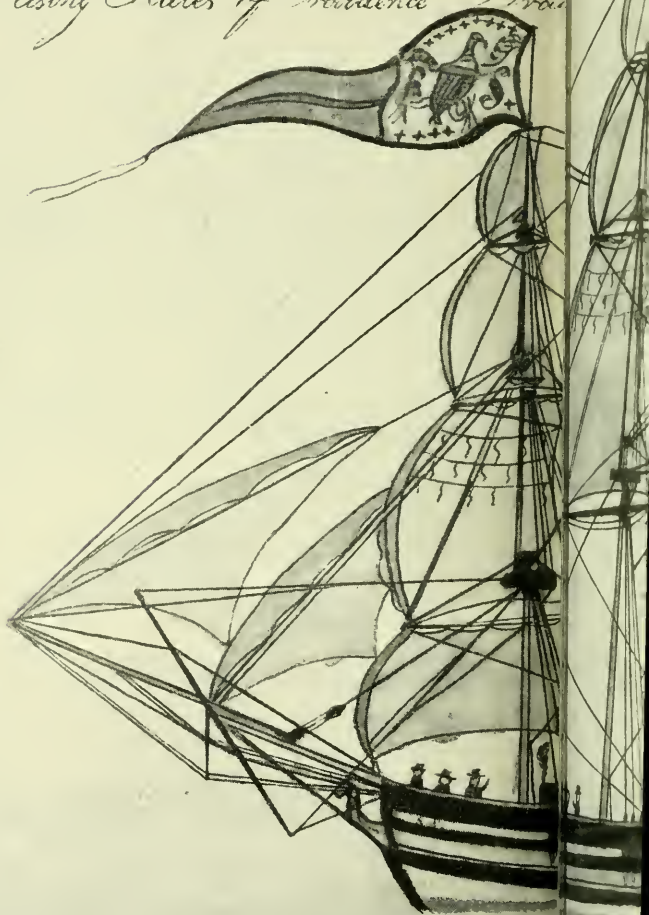
About half way between the Greene farmhouse and the

¹R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. XV, 97, and XXIII, 19.

Edward Carr house is the Carr homestead, built in 1776 by Nicholas Carr, grandson of Governor Caleb Carr. This is the oldest house on the island which still remains as it was originally built. It also has the unique distinction of always having been owned and inhabited by descendants of the builder. The house is built around a huge chimney having six fireplaces, one of which has the baking oven, the great cranes and the iron cooking kettles. The old grandfather's clock, which Nicholas bought of Thomas Clagget the year he built the house, still stands in the southeast corner of the east front room, accurately ticking off the seconds, and its silvery chime is but an echo of the happiness which this old house has seen. Nicholas must have had faith in his country for he built his house in troublous times, — among the objects in the museum (formerly the glass doored china closet in the parlor) is a cannon ball which was shot through the southeast corner of the house under the eaves by a British man-of-war. A story is told of an encounter Nicholas had with the captain of one of the British war vessels. He was plowing one day when this captain appeared and ordered him to give up his oxen. No attention being paid the captain drew his sword and struck Nicholas a blow on the head. Quaker though he was, Nicholas started in to defend his rights and soon a much battered British captain cried for quarter. Later in the day a file of marines seized the fighting Quaker and took him, a prisoner in irons, on board the ship. Each morning, for three days, he was brought on deck with a rope around his neck and given his choice of getting down on his knees and kissing the hand of a loyal subject of the king, or of being hanged. William Battey and another Tory named Hull, friends and neighbors of Nicholas, went aboard the ship and pleaded for their friend, who was finally liberated. This "1776 House" is one of the most picturesque places on the island.

Another interesting structure is the lighthouse at Beaver Tail. According to the records of the Department of Commerce, the first lighthouse on the continent was built on

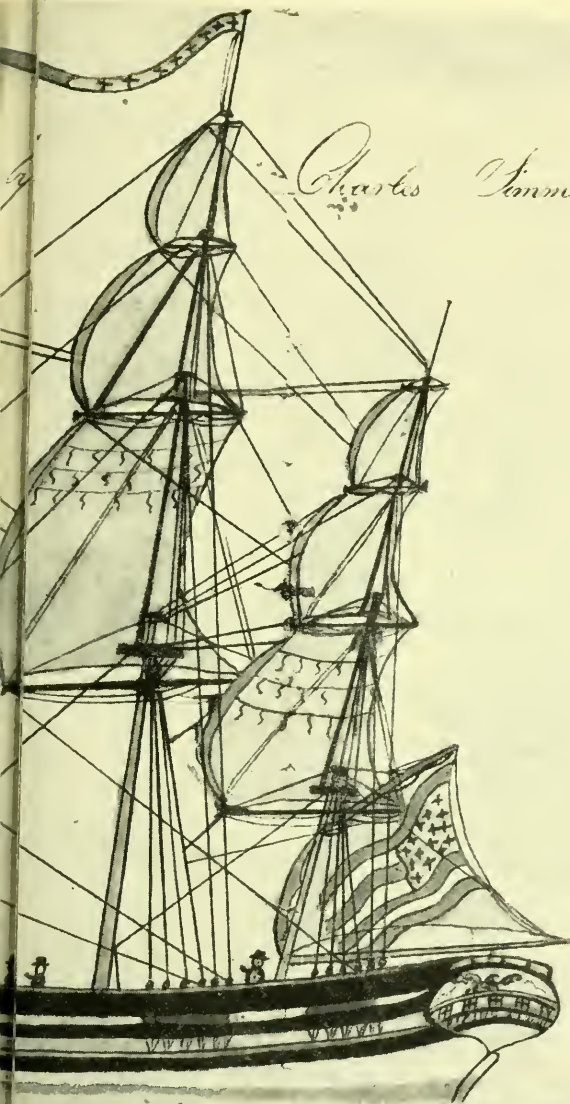
Ship Rising States of Providence



Ship Rising States of Providence

PACKET SHIP "RISING STATES OF PROVIDENCE"
from a drawing dated 1812

Charles Tompkins. November 9, 1812



States of Providence.

PROVIDENCE
br 9, 1812

From original owned by C. Prescott Knight, Esq.

Little Brewster Island, at the entrance to Boston Harbor, in 1715-16 by the order and at the expense of the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, being first lighted September 14, 1716, old style.

The first real lighthouse on Conanicut, recognized as such, was built at Beaver Tail in 1749. But in the Proprietors Records for the 10th day of the second month, 1705, it was ordered "that there shall be a chimney built to the Watch house of Beaver Tail." Again on the 9th day of June, 1712, "At a meeting of the Town Counsell called by the Governors order to sett a watch and build a Beacon. It is ordered that John Hull grant a warrant to Gershom Remington to warn the Indians to build a beacon as soon as possible. It is further ordered that John Hull grant forth a warrent to Benedict Arnold to look after the Watch and see that it be faithfully kept." In those days, ship building and shipping was the principal industry around the shores of Narragansett Bay, and while undoubtedly this watch and beacon were primarily established to warn against attack from the sea, it seems reasonable to believe that they might have been used for the benefit of outgoing and incoming vessels also. In which case it could be claimed that Beaver Tail was the first lighthouse.

Another of the interesting old land marks is the Wind Mill, which stands on Wind Mill Hill near the center of the northern half of the island. This mill, however, is the third and possibly the fourth mill that was built. Corn is native to this country, and was unknown to Europe until after America had become settled. It was the first gift to the white men by the Indians and immediately became the chief article of diet. To be usable it had to be ground. This the Indians did by hand, but the inventive genius of the white man early developed the water mill and later the wind mill, the one in Newport being built in 1663. It was a long journey from Jamestown to Newport and the building of a mill on the island must have been an early consideration, but when or where the first mill was built is still

unknown. On North Ferry Road, on a high hill, stands an old house the front door step of which is an old mill stone, and it is probable that the first mill was in that immediate vicinity. However, the first record of a mill is in 1728, when the Town Meeting voted that "Richard Tew and David Green go and buy stores and irons for the building of a wind-mill and that Richard Tew and Thomas Carr Provide lumber for the aforesaid mill." The mill was running in 1730. In 1738 it was voted that Nicholas Carr have the mill for his own proper estate, but in 1742 it was voted "that Gershan Remington and John Martin is apinted to talk to Nicholas Carr to keep the mill in Repare." Nicholas had moved to Newport and what happened to the mill is unknown. It is thought to have stood somewhat north of the present mill.

It is evident that the town was without a mill in 1760 for a vote to build a new mill was passed in the negative. It was again before the town meeting in 1768 and was again voted down. Not until 1787 was the matter again considered, when a committee was appointed to investigate the cost. They proved themselves thrifty men by petitioning the General Assembly for the grant of a part of Col. Joseph Wanton's farm which had been confiscated. Wanton was a Tory and had left the island when the British evacuated Newport. The petition was granted and the town was given half an acre for this purpose. If, however, the mill became useless or unused for a period of two years, the land was to revert to the state. The mill was built and part of the money was raised by the sale of the highways "running between the North Point Farm and Jonathan Hopkins' and Tidde-man Hull's, and the highway running through Joseph Martin's Farm."

Jethro Briggs was the first miller and was required to give bond in money or "as much corn as one hundred dollars will purchase." Briggs moved to Newport in 1793 and the mill was without a miller. In 1795 it was sold at public auction to Benjamin Carr, but evidently he never took pos-

session, for the next year Briggs sold it to Nathan Munroe for 301 Spanish milled dollars. The record is now complete down to 1893, having been owned by ten persons in that period. The highest price, \$3,000, was paid by Isaac W. Potter in 1874. Thomas A. H. Tefft was the last operating owner and his brother Jesse, the last miller (1896).

The mill remained idle for many years and was fast falling to decay. In 1904, through the instrumentality of Mrs. Frank H. Rosengarten and a number of the summer residents and the residents of the Carr Homestead, money was raised and an informal Wind Mill Society was formed. The deed was retained by Mrs. Rosengarten until 1912, when the Historical Society, first proposed by Mrs. Elizabeth Carr Locke of Los Angeles, was formed. The two societies combined under the name of the Jamestown Historical Society, with Miss Lena H. Clarke as the first president. The old mill is now in almost complete repair, although is not as yet in such mechanical condition as to be in actual operation.

Turning from the commercial to the spiritual, we have the Quaker Meeting House. Here again we must go back many years before the present building. When the compact of government was drawn up for the settlement at Pocasset, it read in part: "It is ordered that none shall be accounted a delinquent for doctrine," and so well was this observed that Cotton Mather said, "I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on such a small spot of ground—if a man had lost his religion he might find it at the general muster of the opinionists." About 1648, George Fox founded the Society of Friends in England and, in spite of persecution and imprisonment, the society grew in numbers and were zealous in spreading their belief. In this country the only welcoming hand was extended by Newport; even Roger Williams was active against them. As early as 1656, Quakers had become settled in Newport. Fox himself preached there in 1672, and by 1700 Quakerism had affected the entire population of the island. The

leading citizens were active members of the society. As a natural consequence the large majority of the settlers of Jamestown were Quakers. The attendance at the Newport Meetings was infrequent and meetings were soon held at members' houses. An entry in the Newport Meeting records reads, "At a man and womens meeting at ye house of Mathew Borden the 24th Day 12 mo, 1684 this meeting has thought fit with the approbation of Jamestown alias Quononoquott to sett a quarterly meeting at Nicholas Carrs in said town to begin the second day after our monthly meeting in the first month next." In 1693 Thomas Chalkley preached on Jamestown. For the "14th of 4th mo 1709" the Newport records read, "it was proposed at this meeting by Representatives of Jamestown yt there is necessity of building a meeting house at Jamestown which is referred to next monthly meeting." The records for the meeting read, "ye 9th day e 6 mo. 1709. This meeting doth give leave for the friends of Jamestown to build a meeting house on their island."

In the Land Evidence records for 1710 there is recorded a deed of the "land on which a meeting house stands in which the people called Quakers usually meet." This definitely establishes that the first meeting house was built 1709-10. Also by this deed the location is established on the north side of North Ferry Road, now Cemetery Lane, in what is now known as the old cemetery. A few years ago funds were raised to clear up this old cemetery, which was all overgrown with brush and trees. After this was done and the old grave stones set up and repaired, there, in the south east corner, directly in front of the entrance, was a clear space, entirely free from graves, where, undoubtedly, stood this first meeting house.

The next twenty-three years passed without anything of particular interest except the general growth of the settlement. It has been previously noted that, as the numbers on the island increased, the center of population crept towards

the south. This brought about the next change which is best told by the records themselves.

25 of the 10 mo 1733

“This meeting having had futher conference concerning Jamestown meeting house, it is desired that the friends of that town do consider among themselves whether it may not be for the General Service and Benefit to Remove s'd meeting house or dispose of that and build another at some other more convenient place and make a full return of their minds in that matter to our next Mo meeting and David Green is desired to acquaint the friends of Jamestown accordingly.”

Newport 29th ye 11th mo 1733

“This meeting being informed that the persons that the deed of Jamestown meeting house was made to, are all deceased excepting David Green therefore this meeting doth desire David Green to make a deed of Conveyance of s'd house & the land belonging thereto to Daniel Weeden, John Hull, Tho Carr and David Green Jr. and make report to next monthly meeting.

“Whereas Jamestown friends are desirous to build a new meeting house on their Island and Nicholas Carr signified that he is willing to give as much land as is needful for that purpose and this meeting desires said Nicholas Carr to pass a deed of conveyance for the s'd purpose to Sam'l Clarke, Daniel Weeden, Tho Carr and John Hull and make report to next Mo meeting.”

Newport 26th da 1 mo 1734

“Sam'l Clarke makes report that Nicholas Carr hath passed a deed of conveyance of a quarter of an acre at Jamestown to set a new meeting house on, to the Persons nominated at a former Mo. meeting.”

Portsmouth 27th ye 6 mo 1734

“This meeting doth desire Sam'l Clarke and Nicholas Carr to Remove the old meeting house at Jamestown to the place where is appointed to build the new meeting house and to build an addition or 18 foot leantew fashion with a chimney at the end and see what subscription they can get and make report to our next Mo. meeting.”

Newport 26th of the 9th mo. 1734

“Nicholas Carr and Sam'l Clarke brought an acc't of charge for moving & building their meeting house amounting to £114 - 4 - 10 which is allowed and ordered to be paid by John Casey out of the meeting stock.”

The deed of Nicholas Carr appears in the Land Evidence Records for March 31, 1734, and by the boundaries given, we find the land is that on which the present meeting house stands. Peace and contentment reigned for many years. But in 1775 the British fleet sailed into the harbor and took possession of Newport and the fortified parts of Jamestown. This critical period in the history of the island will be taken up later. The effect of this occupation on the meeting house is again best told by the records.

Newport 26th. 3 mo 1776

“This meeting being informed that Friends have mostly moved from Jamestown therefore this meeting doth appoint Gould Marsh & Thomas Gould Jun. to inquire into circumstances of S’d Friends & the meeting there & report to next monthly meeting.”

Newport 28th 5 mo 1776

“The Friends who had the care of the matter respecting friends at Jamestown made return which is accepted as followeth:

Newport 5 of the 5 mo 1776

“Agreeable to appointment we have made some inquiry respecting the Meeting & Meeting House of Friends at Jamestown and were informed that some time in the tenth month that most friends belonging thereto left the Island whereby the meeting ceased and that the soldiers possessed themselves of the House which suffered considerably from them in which condition it still remains and but one family of friends as yet returned and settled on the Island.”

Newport 25 of 7 mo 1776

“The Preparative Meeting of Newport informed that Friends at Jamestown had represented to them that they have for some time past laboured under some disadvantage in regard to holding their Meeting at Private Houses and proposed for Friends approbation for their better accommodation whereupon we appoint Robert Dennis, Isaac Lawton, Richard Mitchell, Gould Marsh and William Almy to confer with Friends at Jamestown aforesaid, respecting the above.”

Newport 26th of 9th mo 1786

The committee appointed to confer with friends at

James Town respecting the Building a Meeting House reported as follows, viz,

“According to our appointment, we have conferred with the Friends of Jamestown respecting building a Meeting house at that place, and it is our Judgement that it may be well that there be one built, provided that it can be accomplished in the way by them proposed viz to procure Mon'ies by subscription to purchase the material and to do the Labour at their own expense And think that a building 26 ft. by 20 of one story high, sufficiently capacious to accommodate them.”

(To be continued)

Genealogical Notes

By EDWARD H. WEST

DANIEL WILCOX

Who was the first wife of Daniel Wilcox? Elizabeth Cook must have been his second wife, for in the deed to Edward Lay in 1661, he reserved a rod of land for the grave of his buried wife.

In a corner of a jog of land just north of this land are three unmarked grave stones. I do not think that they are Wilcox stones, but in the wall, where they have been moved from the middle of the lot, are three fragments of stones. On one of them is the inscription

“Samwell Wilcock 1689.”

I think it possible that Daniel Wilcox (2) was the son of the first wife.*

THOMAS COOK OF PORTSMOUTH

This article is to show that the names of the wives of Thomas Cook, Sr., and of his son, Capt. Thomas Cook, as

*The same conclusion is reached by G. Andrews Moriarty in the N. E. H. & G. Reg., Jan. 1933, p. 74, wherein he quotes from R. I. H. S. Collections of July 1932.

given by Austin and other Cook lists are not correct; also, there is to be a change in the children.

Thomas Cook, Sr., in his will, left the daughters of his dec. son, Thomas Cook, 14 pounds apiece, his Exx. to be wife Mary (his 2nd wife).

In 1693 (L. E. I.-307) Oliver Arnold gave receipt to Jeremiah Brown of Newport, now husband of Mary, late widow of the dec. Thomas Cook, for the sum of 15 pounds, the legacy left said Arnold's wife, Phebe, by the will of her g-father, Thomas Cook.

Thomas Cook, Sr., must have been at least 64 years of age at the time of his death, going by the birth date of his son John (1631).

His 2nd wife, Mary, must have been much younger, as she married again after his death in 1674, and was living in 1692.

The will of William Havens mentions his daughter, Mary Cook. She must have been born about 1655, as her older brother, George, was born in 1653. This would make her age compare with the above condition, and what follows shows that she was not the wife of Capt. Thomas, as he had wife Thomasin and not Mary.

12 Oct. 1670, "Whereas Capt. Thomas Cook of Portsmouth late deceased and left a verbal will - - - - - leaving his wife Exx. and she in her lifetime time not aplying her self according to law to prove sayd will was thereby incapacitated to make a will for the Disposal of her sayd Husbands Estate - - - - - whereupon the eldist son and Heir of the dec. Capt. Thomas Cook having aplyed himself unto us the Counsell of the Town of Portsmouth, for our assistance in the setling of his dec. fathers Estate - - - - - Wee have and do hereby apoynt Thomas Cook, eldist son of the afore named Capt. Thomas Cook, to be the whole and sole Exicutor unto the whole Estate of the Sayd Capt. Thomas Cook and the late Deceased widow Thomasin Cook."

"Said Thomas to have the whole estate, he paying all debts of his deceased parents as well as the following legacies.

"- - - shall pay unto his brothers namely John, George, Steven and Ebenezer Cook to each of them - - - - - at the age of 20 years 10 s.

"We also order that the said Thomas Cook shall pay unto his sisters, namely Sarah, the wife of Peter Parker, Mary the wife of Thomas Langford, Elizabeth, Phebe, and Martha Cook, to each 5 s apiece."

This shows that Sarah was not the daughter of Thomas, Sr.

Also it gives another Cook daughter, Mary Langford.

In a deposition of Thomas Cook taken in Newport, 22 July 1719, about the estates of Isaac and Thomas Lawton, he calls himself 62 years or thereabouts, which would make his birth about 1657.

(Loose Paper, State House.)

Mary Langford's will mentions her husband's child and gives its some clothes that were its own mother's. She also mentions sister Sarah Parker and her brother Thomas. (Scrap Book, Portsmouth.)

The will of Thomas Langford makes wife Mary sole Exx., and he also "gives my whole estate with the power and taking care of my son Thomas." (Scrap Book) He does not mention the son John that Austin gives him.

Inventory of the goods of Mary Langford "who departed this life on the 17 day of feb 1670." (Scrap Book)

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Notes on the Rhode Island Admiralty, 1727-1790, by Frederick Bernays Wiener, is a pamphlet reprinted from *The Harvard Law Review*, 1932, vol. XLVI, No. 1.

The June 1932 *Bulletin of the Jamestown Historical Society* contains an article on *Old Jamestown* by Maria A. Carr.

A Spaniard's Visit to Newport in 1784, a translation by Don Juan de Riano of Francisco Miranda's diary, is printed in the October 1932 *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society*.

The Auchmuty Family of Scotland and America by Annette Townsend contains a biographical sketch and portrait of Judge Robert Auchmuty.

Carrie Tower, a poem by Harry Paul Taylor, illustrated by Stacy Tolman, East Providence, 1932, was printed as a pamphlet.

A Map of the Acquidnesset or North Purchase of the Atherton Partners is the title of a pamphlet issued in December by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island.

Sheffield, Daggett and Allied Families is an illustrated volume of 273 pages, issued by the American Historical Society.

A biography of *John Underhill* by Henry C. Shelley contains several references to colonial Rhode Island.

The Journal of American History for 1932 contains an article on *The Rock-Inscriptions of New England — Miguel Cortereal in Massachusetts, 1511*, by Edmund Burke Delabarre.

Kingston Congregational Church, History, By-Laws, Membership is a pamphlet of 20 pages issued in November 1932.

Volume III of *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade in America* by Elizabeth Donnan, which has just been published by the Carnegie Institution, contains 553 pages, of which 296 pages relate to the Rhode Island slave trade.

The *Official Gazetteer of Rhode Island* is a pamphlet of 95 pages recently issued by the United States Geographic Board.

Supplement to Ralph Earle and His Descendants is a pamphlet of 12 pages by Amos Earle Voorhies, printed at Grants Pass, Oregon.

House and Garden for December 1932 contains an article by Walter A. Dyer on *Old Tavern Signs*, illustrated with pictures of signs exhibited some years ago at the loan exhibition held by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January 1933 contains several important genealogical articles relating to several Rhode Island families, viz: Cranston, Fiske, Chase, Ginnedo and Mowry.

Notes

Mrs. Murray S. Danforth presented to the Society a manuscript music book containing compositions by Oliver Shaw, the Rhode Island composer, in his own hand writing.

Miss Theodora Wilbour of New York presented to the Society a collection of one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of early glassware as a memorial in honor of her sister, Zoe Wilbour.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Prof. Will S. Taylor

Rev. William Worthington

Mrs. Earl C. Hart

Miss Anna Jones Dyer

Survey of Old Rhode Island Houses

Old Houses in the South County of Rhode Island, Part I, compiled by the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and printed by the Merrymount Press, contains 93 photographs, with descriptive and historic notes, of the exterior and the interior

of 53 houses built prior to 1830, situated in the southern portion of the present Washington County; together with an introduction by William Davis Miller, *South County Notes* by Mrs. William B. Weeden, a map of the Pettaquamscutt Purchase and two maps by Norman M. Isham showing the location of the houses described, together with the sites of houses long demolished.

This pictorial and written record of social conditions and architectural development of the early days of this portion of the State is of inestimable value both to the student and to those interested in the colonial period of Rhode Island. It is to be hoped that the subsequent volumes, covering the remainder of the South County and other portions of the State, will be published in the not far distant future, so that an authoritative and comprehensive record of our early houses may be accessible to future generations, when land marks of today will be but historic record. The Society of Colonial Dames is to be congratulated for this book, the first published evidence of the exhaustive survey it has undertaken.

Glocester, R. I.

By HOWARD M. CHAPIN

The question is often asked why Glocester, R. I., is spelled without the "u," while Gloucester, in England and in Massachusetts, is spelled with the "u." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries spelling was not as crystallized in form as it is today, and it was not only customary but proper to spell many proper names in more than one way.

In the *Index Villaris* written by Mr. Adams of the Inner-Temple and printed in London in 1680 the County of Glocester, the city of Glocester, Glocester Hall in Oxford and Glocester in Northumberland, all in England, were spelled without the "u."

Five pamphlets written by Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester and printed at Gloucester, England, between 1775 and 1783 give the spelling without the "u."

In a pamphlet printed in London in 1740 Gloucester is spelled with the "u," but in a book printed in Gloucester, England, in 1764, the name is spelled without the "u."

William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, in his monumental work, *The Baronage of England*, printed in 1675, spelled Gloucester without the "u" in his account of the earldom.

In the first quarto edition of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, which was printed in 1597, Gloucester is spelled without the "u."

It will thus be seen that the spelling without the "u" was the preferable spelling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England, and that when the spelling with the "u" became fashionable in eighteenth century London, the other spelling persisted for a long time in local usage. When Gloucester, R. I., was named in 1730, the spelling without the "u" which was adopted would seem to have had in its favor the weight of the precedence of historical and literary usage and authority.

Rhode Island Historical Society Treasurer's Report

INCOME ACCOUNT FOR YEAR 1932

RECEIPTS	
Annual Dues	\$2,725.00
Dividends and Interest	4,196.29
Newspaper Account	31.50
Rental of Rooms	105.00
State Appropriation	1,500.00
Surplus Income Account	130.00
	\$8,687.79

EXPENDITURES

Binding	\$ 384.63
Books	629.70
Electric Light and Gas	44.95
Exhibitions	104.92
Expense	185.62
Grounds and Building	43.45
Heating	700.00
Insurance	225.00
Publication	460.28
Salaries	5,580.00
Supplies	251.49
Telephone	69.75
Water	8.00
	<hr/>
	\$8,687.79

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1932

ASSETS

Grounds and Building	\$ 25,000.00
Investments:	

BONDS

\$4,000. Cedars Rapids M. & P. Co., 5s, 1953	\$3,228.88
3,000. Central Mfg. District	3,000.00
3,000. Cleveland Elec. Illum. Co., 5s, 1939	2,565.42
4,000. Dominion of Canada, 5s, 1952	4,003.91
1,000. Western Electric Co., 5s, 1944	998.17
4,000. 61 Broadway Bldg., 1st Mtge., 5½s, 1950	4,000.00
4,000. Minnesota P. & Lt. Co., 1st 5s, 1955	3,930.00
4,000. Monongahela Valley Traction Co., 1st 5s, 1942	3,685.00
2,000. Ohio Power Co., 1st & Ref. 5s, 1952	1,974.00
2,000. Narragansett Elec. Co., 5s, 1947	1,980.00
2,000. Shell Union Oil Corp., 5s, 1947	1,979.00
2,000. Koppers Gas & Coke Co., 5s, 1947	1,962.50
1,000. Indianapolis Power & Lt., 1st 5s, 1957	994.50
1,000. Texas Pwr. & Lt., 1st Ref. 5s, 1956	1,021.25
1,000. Pennsylvania R. R., Deb. 4½s, 1970	922.50
1,000. Pennsylvania Water & Power Co., 1st 5s, 1940	1,005.42

STOCKS

54 shs. New York Central Railroad Co.....	\$3,766.47	
125 shs. Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	7,638.35	
30 shs. Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.	2,112.50	
7 shs. Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Co.	235.39	
40 shs. Milwaukee Elec. Ry. & Lt. Co., Pfd. .	3,900.00	
64 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,960.05	
350 shs. Providence Gas Co.	5,755.68	
15 shs. Providence National Bank	} 1,800.00	
30 shs. Merchants' National Bank Bldg. }		
45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank.....	1,050.00	
52 shs. Atchison, Topeka & S.F. Ry. Co., Com.	6,247.85	
20 shs. American Power & Light	1,696.50	
30 shs. Standard Gas & Electric, 4s, Pfd.....	1,906.50	
35 shs. Public Service of N. J., 5s, Pfd.	3,327.63	
10 shs. Public Service of N. J., 5s, Cum. Pfd. .	990.00	
10 shs. Electric Bond and Share, 5s, Pfd.....	922.00	
	<hr/>	84,559.47
Cash on hand		4,408.65
		<hr/>
		\$113,968.12

LIABILITIES

Equipment Fund	\$ 25,000.00
Permanent Endowment Fund:	
Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000.00
Henry J. Steere	10,000.00
James H. Bugbee	6,000.00
Charles H. Smith	5,000.00
William H. Potter	3,000.00
Charles W. Parsons	4,000.00
Esek A. Jillson	2,000.00
John Wilson Smith	1,000.00
William G. Weld	1,000.00
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000.00
Charles H. Atwood	1,000.00
Edwin P. Anthony	4,000.00
John F. Street	1,000.00
George L. Shepley	5,000.00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial	734.52
	<hr/>
	56,734.52

Publication Fund:	
Robert P. Brown	\$ 2,000.00
Ira P. Peck	1,000.00
William Gammell	1,000.00
Albert J. Jones	1,000.00
William Ely	1,000.00
Julia Bullock	500.00
Charles H. Smith	100.00
	<hr/>
	6,600.00
Life Membership	5,600.00
Book Fund	3,012.41
Reserve Fund	1,098.37
Revolving Publication Fund.....	378.27
Surplus	13,900.87
Surplus Income Account	1,643.68
	<hr/>
	\$113,968.12

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1932

RECEIPTS

Commonwealth Edison Company (Paid)	\$1,099.50
Reserve Fund	188.25
Revolving Publication Fund.....	312.00
Life Membership	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,649.75
Balance January 1, 1932	2,765.89
	<hr/>
	\$4,415.64

PAYMENTS

Penn. Water & Power Co., 1st, 5s, 1940 (Purchased)	\$1,005.42
Reserve Fund	105.25
Revolving Publication Fund	540.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,650.67
Balance December 31, 1932	2,764.97
	<hr/>
	\$4,415.64

Respectfully submitted,

G. A. HARRINGTON,
Treasurer

FORM OF LEGACY

*“I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island
Historical Society the sum of
dollars.”*

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



E. A. JOHNSON CO.

PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XXVI

JULY, 1933

No. 3



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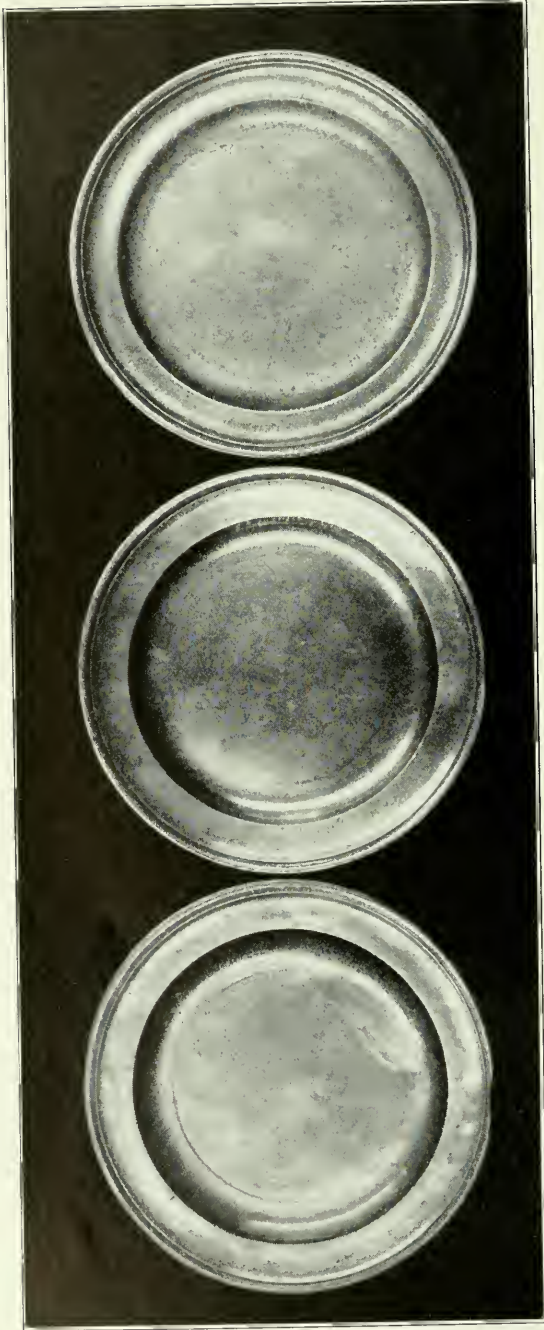
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions
of contributors.

The Touch-Mark of Josiah Keene,
Rhode Island Pewterer, 1778 or 9-1868

By MADELAINE R. BROWN, M.D.

Until the plate described below was located in the autumn of 1932, no example of Josiah Keene's larger touch-mark was known to collectors of American pewter. A pint porringer of the Rhode Island type, marked "I. K.," described and attributed to him in Mr. Myer's "Notes," is now in the Yale University Museum. From Mr. Calder's exhaustive study of Rhode Island pewterers published in 1924 by this quarterly, we know that Keene advertised as pewterer, coppersmith and founder in the *Providence Gazette*, October 2, 1802. The same author has also reproduced a receipt given William Calder, pewterer, by Josiah Keene in 1817 for seven varieties of moulds, including one for an eight-inch plate and one for a pint porringer.



8 1/4 INCH PEWTER PLATES MADE BY

WILLIAM CALDER

JOSIAH KEENE

GERSHAM JONES

This $8\frac{1}{4}$ inch plate, bearing part of Keene's touch, is in such excellent condition that it could have been used very little. It is evident, therefore, that originally this mark was only partially struck. The touch is similar to that of Samuel Hamlin, and from the accompanying illustration it will be seen that the $8\frac{1}{4}$ inch plate by Gershom Jones was cast in an indential mould, and that by William Calder probably in the same mould.



TOUCH-MARK OF
JOSIAH KEENE

The scarcity of known examples of Keene's pewter to-day may possibly be explained by two facts. First, his touch-mark may have been incompletely struck on much of his ware. Second, as Mr. Laughlin points out in the article on Keene from the manuscript of his projected book on American pewter, which he has kindly sent me, Josiah Keene was essentially a coppersmith and brass founder, making pewter only in the first few years of his business life, and finally selling his moulds in 1817.

Biscuit City

By WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER

Biscuit City, or Harley's Mill as it is sometimes more accurately but less picturesquely called, has the probable distinction of being the smallest city in the country. The little cluster of houses, never appearing to have exceeded more than six in number exclusive of the mill, grouped about the "Great Spring" and the stream and mill pond fed by its unfailing flow, lies about a mile to the southwest of the village of Kingston.

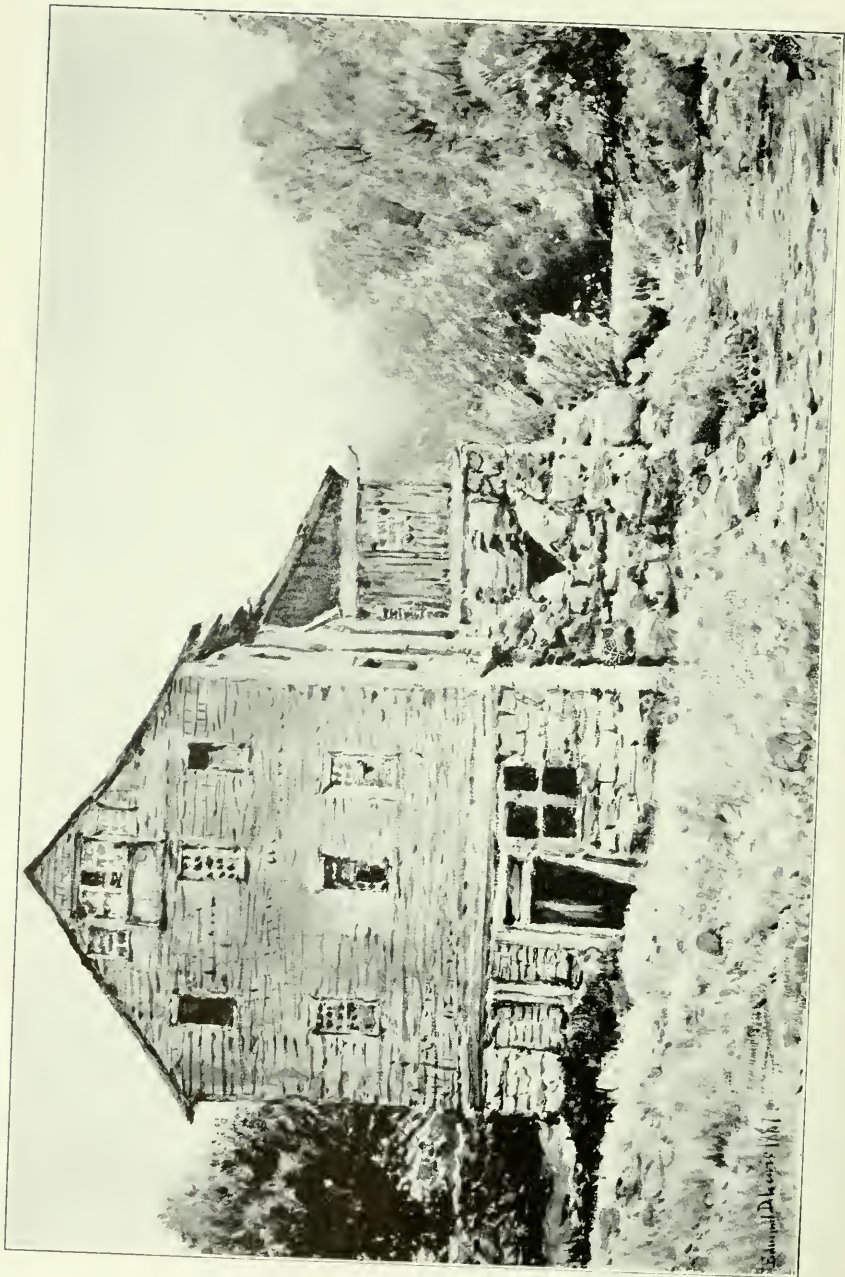
The origin of the name of this small hamlet is obscure but by tradition, and as recorded by Shepard Tom in his *Jonny Cake Papers*, it sprang from the imagination of an itinerant vendor, who, upon a visit to the little community, was so impressed by the remarkable number of biscuits being made by the housewives, that he dubbed it by the name it has ever since borne, and by which it is familiarly alluded to by the people of South Kingstown.

The lands upon which Biscuit City stood were in the central portion of that great tract purchased from the Narragansett Sachems by the Pettaquamscutt Purchasers in 1657. They in turn deeded to William Knowles, in 1671, five hundred acres of this Purchase, which included the lands under consideration. The Knowles family retained possession until 12 April 1738 when Henry Knowles sold two hundred acres to Col. Elisha Reynolds, merchant of Little Rest. The following year Reynolds purchased an additional four hundred acres from Henry Knowles, apparently the remainder of Knowles lands in that vicinity. It would appear that this last purchase, made 12 March 1739, included the spring and stream. In this deed there is mention of a house but no mention of a mill, the house being probably that, the ruins of which still remain, situated a short distance to the northwest of the mill site.

On 18 August 1788 Elisha Reynolds sold sixteen acres and twenty-eight rods to John Larkin. This would seem to be the beginning of the mercantile era of the "City," for while the deed mentions "a dwelling house there on standing," mentions the "Great Spring at the head of the Mill Pond," and gives to Larkin right to "open the brook that comes from Samuel Tefts land across sd grantors land" no direct mention is made of a mill. However when, on 25 May 1795, Larkin sold these lands to John Taylor Nichols, the saddler of Little Rest, whose shop adjoined the old Bank in the village, the land is described as "with a dwelling house and a Grist Mill thereon standing." Larkin bought an additional four acres adjoining his land on the east from Elisha Reynolds in 1791.

Nichols operated the mill less than two years selling out to Jonathan Babcock, "Schoolmaster alias Yoeman," on 21 February 1797. Nichols, however, retained the upper portion of the mill pond and the "Great Spring" but bound himself "Not to alter the course or Stop the water which Runs from the great Spring into the Mill Pond and all other water Courses which Vent it Selfe into Said Pond and to Drownd as much of the land which Belongs to Said Nichols as May happen at any Uncommon Rise of Water in Said Mill Pond from Freshets or otherwise." This upper portion of the land, ten acres, Nichols sold to Elisha Reynolds Potter in 1801 who in turn, six years later, sold two acres to Babcock.

In 1808, Biscuit City reached the height of its activity and was to achieve additional distinction. On the sixteenth of March of that year, Jonathan Babcock, having laid aside his title of "School Master" and styling himself "Miller," sold four and one-half acres and twenty-five rods of his land, excluding his home, the old house mentioned in the earlier deeds, to "The President, Directors and Company of South Kingstown Cotton Manufactory," said to be the first company to be organized in the United States for the manufacture of cotton cloth. The deed recites the officers



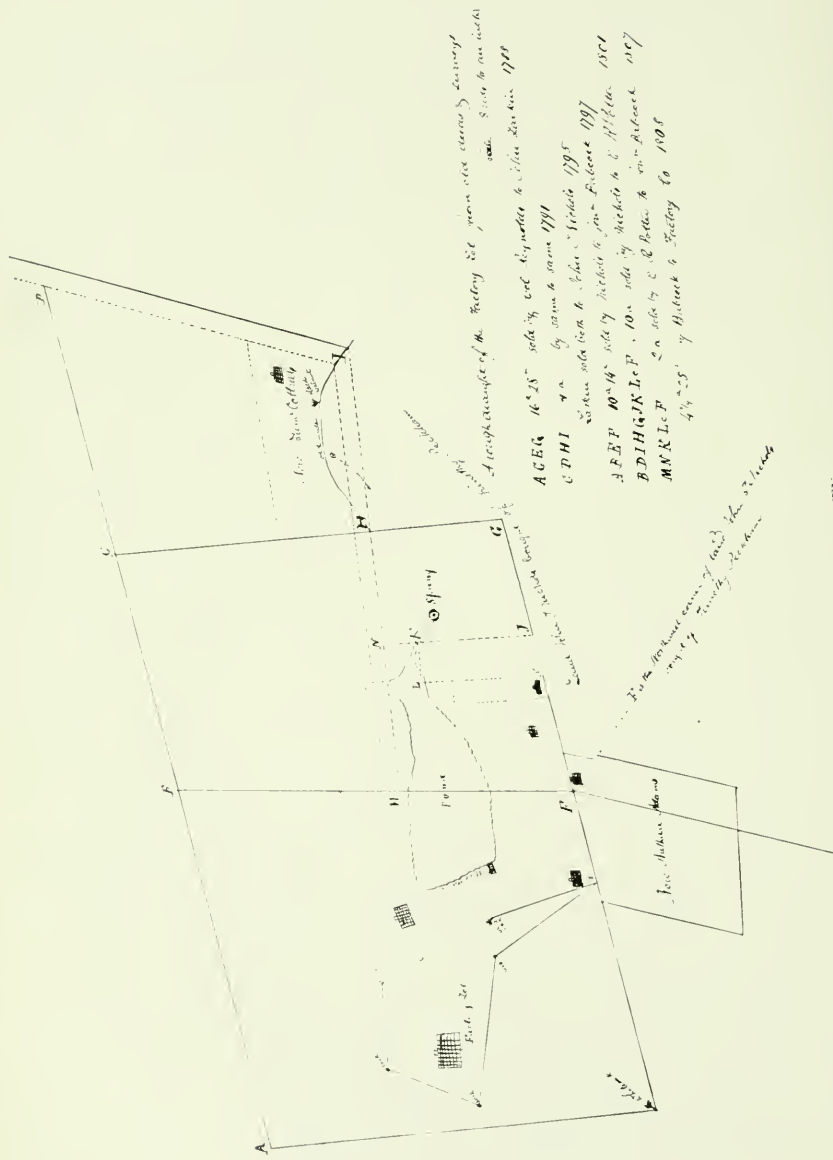
THE BISCUIT CITY MILL

From a water color sketch by Edmund D. Lewis, dated 1887

as follows: "James Helme President, Rowland Hazard, James Shearman, Cyrus French, William Peckham."

The old approach to Biscuit City and the mill was by a right of way across the lands of Elisha Reynolds, later in possession of Elisha Reynolds Potter, at the western foot of Little Rest Hill, leaving the road to the present West Kingston at a point adjacent to where that road crosses Whitehorn Brook. In 1809, Potter deeded "the copartners & proprietors of the Cotton Factory" a piece of land to be "used and occupied as a road or public highway across the lands of the grantor" the consideration being that the Company release the old right of way to Potter. This road was laid out and is the present approach to Biscuit City. This deed is of interest as it gives a more complete list of those interested in the South Kingstown Cotton Manufactory (alias The Cotton Factory, alias the Narragansett Cotton Manufacturing Company): "Levi Bradford, Hezekial Babcock, Jonathan Babcock, John G. Clarke, Cyrus French, Elisha R. Gardner, Benjⁿ Greene, Rowland Hazard, James Helme, Joseph M. Knowles, Robert Knowles, Geo Hazard, John T. Nichols, Wm. Nichols, Wm. Peckham, Wm. Peckham, Jr., James Sherman, John R. Sherman, John Segar, Chr. Robinson, Borden Rathbun, Benjⁿ Wright, Elisha Watson, Jr., Jos. Reynolds, Benjn Congdon & John C. Helme being the copartners & proprietors—"

For eleven years the Cotton Factory, to use the shortest of the several names, would appear to have continued operation with diminishing success, and then sold, on 2 January 1819, the land it had received from Babcock to Rouse C. Clarke, Jr., of Richmond "with a large building thereon with water wheels & other wheels & gear viz: all the geer that is immediately connected with the wheels, two dwelling homes & other out buildings." The consideration the Company received would seem indicative of their financial condition. It was "the sum of two thousand dol-



A rough sketch of the Factory site from some early survey
 made since the original
 1788
 ACEG 16¹/₂ AS¹/₂ side by side by the original & John D. Davis 1788
 G D H I 4¹/₂ by same to same 1791
 side same side from the other side 1795
 A B E F 10¹/₂ 16¹/₂ side by side by Richard & John F. F. 1807
 B D I H G J K L E F 10¹/₂ side by side by Richard & John F. F. 1807
 M N K L E F 10¹/₂ side by side by Richard & John F. F. 1807
 4¹/₂ x 25¹/₂ of Biscuit & Factory Co 1808

BISCUIT CITY
 (From "a rough draught" made by Judge Elisha R. Potter.)

lars paid the cashier of the Narragansett Bank to our use being part of the debt due to sd Bank from sd Company."

After the sale to Clarke the land transfers became complicated and the lands were divided into small holdings, causing one amusing situation wherein Clarke in 1820 owned the door yard of the old house still occupied, apparently, by Jonathan Babcock. This was restored to Babcock, however, in 1824 by formal deed duly recorded. Clarke operated the old mill not for textiles but for the manufacture of carriages and wagons. He sold out to Asa Potter on 10 June 1829, having previously sold some of the land to Elisha Reynolds Potter, who owned the land surrounding the "City." Clarke deeded "lock, stock and barrel" for the deed lists a remarkable number of carriages and wagons, completed and unfinished, together with the tools and gear necessary to their manufacture.

On 11 November 1830 Asa Potter sold the Mill property by auction, the successful bidders being Solomon S. Harley and George C. Clarke. Harley operated the mill as a grist mill for many years and on 23 May 1866 the land, "with a grist mill—formerly known as the Narragansett Factory," having come to John Henry Wells and his wife, partly by inheritance, partly by purchase and partly by exchange, was conveyed to Judge Elisha Reynolds Potter, great grandson of Elisha Reynolds, who had purchased it over a hundred years before. It remained in the Potter family until recently when the "Great Spring" was utilized as an auxiliary source to the water supply for the village of Kingston and the lands immediately adjacent were acquired by a Company formed for this purpose.

With the old mill and the Jonathan Babcock house in ruins, with only two of the other houses standing and with the "Great Spring" diverted to other uses, Biscuit City is now but a name and a memory.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

History and Genealogy of the Ancestors and Some Descendants of Stukely Westcott by Roscoe L. Whitman is a volume of 435 pages, published by the Otsego Pub. Co., Oneonta, N. Y.

The *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* for April 1933, contains the translation of several letters and papers relating to the French forces in Rhode Island during the Revolution and also an account of P. F. Little, the Little Compton printer.

Negroes on the Island of Rhode Island by Charles A. Battle is a pamphlet of 38 pages published at Newport, in 1932.

Obadiah Holmes, Ancestor and Prototype of Abraham Lincoln by Rev. Wilbur Nelson is a pamphlet of 20 pages printed at Newport, in 1932.

Letter of Instructions to the Captain and the Supercargo of the Brig "Agenoria," Engaged in a Trading Voyage to Africa, in 1832 and 1833, with other papers connected with the voyage, is a pamphlet of 46 pages privately printed for Howard Greene of Milwaukee, and Arnold G. Talbot of Philadelphia. The *Agenoria* was a Providence vessel.

The *Mariner* for January 1933, contains the articles of agreement for the building of a ship at Warren, R. I., in 1747.

The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, published by Dartmouth College, contains over thirty pages of letters written by Narragansett Indians from 1765 to 1778.

Antiques for April 1933, contains an illustrated article by Ruel P. Tolman on *Other Malbone Miniatures*.

Historic Newport is an attractive and interesting illustrated booklet recently issued by the Newport Chamber of Commerce.

Volume 1 of *Richmond Family Records* by Henry I. Richmond, M.A., Sc.B., of Little Compton, R. I., has just been published by Adlard & Son, London. It is a volume of 232 pages dealing in exhaustive detail with the Richmonds of Maryland, Virginia, New England, Ireland, and Somerset, England. Mr. Richmond has devoted many years to research relating to the Richmond family.

The May 1933 *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* contains some letters of Samuel Slater, and a letter to Moses Lopez of Newport in regard to the manufacture of potash.

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. A. L. Grant	Mrs. George E. Downing
Capt. Ernest H. Brownell	Mrs. Alden L. Littlefield
Mr. Horace M. Peck	

A Short History of Jamestown

By W. L. WATSON
(Continued from page 59)

In the records of the Newport Meeting for the 24th of the 6th month 1788, it is stated that the money raised for building a new meeting house was not sufficient and it was voted that £7-11-5 pence be paid out of the general treasury. It is thus conclusive that the new meeting house, which is the one now standing, was built in 1786 or 1787. And so we have the records of the building which is now standing and which, during the summer months, is still opened for "Quaker Meeting."

So firmly was Quakerism established on the island that, for a period of 132 years after the first meeting house was built, no other religious sect had a place of worship, although Dr. McSparron made frequent visits and held services of the Church of England in private residences, particularly those of Capt. Paine, Bro. Arnold and Mr. Martin.

After holding services in the old North School House for some time the first Baptist Society built their meeting house in 1841-2, and an agreement appears on their records whereby they allowed the Seventh Day Baptists to use it. This little meeting house still stands on the North Road just south of Carr's Lane. The church on Narragansett Avenue, which is now used, was built in 1891, by the Central Baptist Society.

In 1836 there was only "one person on the island in communication with the Episcopal Church." In 1837 the parish was admitted to the Episcopal Union. The Rev. Edward Wayland was the first minister. In 1878 Rev. Dr. Magill of Trinity Church, Newport, took it as a mission and in 1896 it became an independent congregation.

In 1890 the Roman Catholic Church celebrated its first mass at the Thorndyke Hotel. For fourteen years the parish was continued as a mission of St. Mary's Church, Newport. In 1909 it was established as a permanent parish.

But now we must retrace our steps somewhat. In sketching the various activities and growth of the town, it has undoubtedly been noticed that every one of them suffered by the Revolutionary War. This was the most critical as well as the most disastrous period in the town's history.

From 1730 to just before the war, it must be remembered, Newport was at the height of its prosperity, surpassing New York as a commercial center. Over 200 vessels were engaged in foreign trade and over 400 coasting vessels sailed from this harbor as well as a regular line of packets to London. Thousands of seamen thronged the docks, warehouses were overflowing, there were 17 manufacturers

alone of sperm oil and candles, vast fortunes were made in the slave trade and the distilling of rum, and ship yards were scattered all along the shores of the bay. Wealth was abundant and prosperity every man's portion. Jamestown could not help but share in this general condition and was alert to better her condition, as is shown in the following vote of the town meeting of December 26, 1767.

"It is voted that the Hon. Josiah Arnold Esq. William Hazard Esq. Oliver Hull Esq. Mr. Daniel Weeden, Mr. John Weeden, Capt. John Eldred, Capt John Gardner, & Mr. John Remington or the major part of them, be, & they hereby are appointed a committee to consider of the most Salutary measures to be Recommended to this town, for encouraging Industry, frugality, & the Manufactures of this colony, as well to Discourage the use of British & foreign Manufactures and Superfluities imported from abroad; & that they make Report of their proceedings to this meeting which stands adjourned to the third Tuesday of January next."

Here we also have a public expression of dissatisfaction over British authority. Jamestown was surrounded by shipping. High import taxes, particularly on molasses, had made smuggling a common practice. Encounters between trading vessels and British excise vessels were frequent. Respect for British enforcement of law was at a low ebb. Slowly but surely the undercurrents of resistance were converging into a mighty stream.

On February 10, 1774, the records read:

"Considering the Greate importance in Preserving to ourselves & Posterity our Indubitable & Inherent Rights do Vote and it is Voted and Resolved by this Meeting that for preventing any tea subject to a duty sent out by the East India Company being Landed in this town, we do Willingly and heartily Join in the s'd Resolves Containing N.N. nine, and to the utmost of our power will stand by and Support our Brethren in this and the sister Colony's in all such Just and Laudable Measures as may preserve to us our Just Rights and priveledges as Englishmen."

Then on October 16, 1775, it was voted:

"That a Watch be set and kept in this town till further Orders from the town from Six O'Clock in the evening till Sun rise the Next morning that the watch be set and kept from Eldreds Northward Round the Point & if necessary to keep also a strict On the Western Shore from the Point as far down as Opposite s'd Eldgedges Shore."

Then again, fearing serious disaster, it was voted on October 21, 1775, "that the Records of this town be kept in North Kingstown where they now are or in some Other Secure place as the Town Clerk or Council Clerk Shall Think Proper, untill further Order from the town."

Narragansett Bay, with its large amount of shipping, had always been a focal point for the British Revenue ships. In 1769 the armed sloop Liberty was sent to Newport from Boston, to enforce the revenue laws. She seized a Connecticut brig and a sloop and brought them into Newport. The indignant citizens managed, by a subterfuge, to get all the Liberty's men ashore and then someone went out and cut her cable. She drifted ashore and was later struck by lightning and consumed by fire. In 1772 the Gaspee was destroyed. These revenue vessels were a familiar sight from Jamestown and were the reason for establishing the night patrol. The men of the patrol did not always use discretion and occasionally took pot shots at these vessels. So, also, did Capt. John Eldred. The story is told by Field in "Revolutionary Defences of Rhode Island."

"During the Revolution, there lived, on the Eldred Farm, on the east side of Conanicut, Captain John Eldred, a patriot of the purest type. On his land there were two great rocks overlooking the water from a commanding position. Here Captain Eldred planted one of the guns taken from the fort on the island (the battery where Fort Dumpling later stood). From time to time, the patriotic old farmer would amuse himself by firing a shot at the British vessels as they passed up and down the East Passage. One day, he was fortunate enough to put a shot through the mainsail of one of the enemy's ships. This little pleasantry on the part of Farmer Eldred was not relished by the Britisher. A boat was lowered and a force sent ashore to dislodge the company, which, it was supposed, occupied the station, and spike the gun. Upon seeing the boat lowered, Mr. Eldred quickly hid himself in the swamp at the far end of his farm, and when the boat's party arrived on the spot, nothing was found but the gun mounted between the rocks. This they spiked, and the company they expected to capture had vanished as completely as though swallowed up by the earth. This was Eldred's one gun battery."

(The Jamestown Chapter of the D. A. R. is named the "John Eldred Chapter," and a few years ago placed a tablet on one of the rocks.)

Whether it was because of this or out of pure wantonness, on December 11, 1775, the British landed 200 men on the island and proceeded to destroy the village. The account is given in the diary of Ezra Stiles, a minister of Newport.

"Dec. 10, 1775. This morning we were awakened with the conflagration of Jamestown on Conanicut. An awful sight! . The bomb brig and several Tenders full of marines went over last night, and about 5 o'clock or a little before day landed and set fire to the Houses. The men continued ravaging and burning 'till about Noon and returned.

"Dec. 11, 1775. About 1 o'clock yesterday morning a Bomb Brig, 1 schooner, & 2 or 3 armed sloops went to Conanicut & landed upward of Two hundred Marines Sailors & Negroes at the E. Ferry and marched in three divisions over to the W. Ferry, & set the several houses on fire there, then retreated back sett fire to almost every house on each side of the road, & several Houses and Barns some distance on the N. & S. side of the Rode, driving out Women & Children etc.

Houses Burnt & Lost

Widow Hull - - - - -	1 house
Jos. Clarke, Esq. - - - - -	2 houses & 1 Barn
Thos. Fowler - - - - -	1 house & 1 Crib
Ben. Ellery - - - - -	2houses & 1 Store
Benj. Remington - - - - -	2 houses
Jno. Gardiner - - - - -	2 houses & 1 Tanyard
Gov. Hutchinson - - - - -	1house
Wm. Franklin - - - - -	2 houses
Abel Franklin - - - - -	1house
Bend. Robinson - - - - -	1 house

15Dwellings

A Company of Minute Men had left Conanicut the Aft. before so that there were but 40 or 50 soldiers on the Island, of which 22 were well equipped. At the Cross Rodes there was a Skirmish our pple killed one Officer of Marines and wounded 7 or 8. Not one Colonist was killed or hurt in the Skirmish. The Kings forces fired on Mr. Jno. Martin aet 80 standing at his Door and wounded him Badly. Mr. Fowler had about 30 Head Cattle: these the Regulars carried off and perhaps a dozen Head more, about 30 Sheep & as many Turkeys, & some Hogs, Beds, Furniture

and other plunder. They returned on board at X or XI o'clock & came to this Harbor about Noon.

The Alarm spread, & I am told there are this day Three hundred Men on Conanicut & Eight hundred upon the Island. The Town in great Consternation.

An account also appeared in the *Providence Gazette*, December 16, 1775, under the heading "The Burning of Jamestown," as follows:

"Sunday morning last, the bomb brig, a schooner, and two or three armed sloops left the harbor of Newport and landed about two hundred marines, sailors and Negroes on the Ferry on the east side of Conanicut, from whence they immediately marched across in three divisions to the West Ferry, and after burning all the houses near the Ferry-Place, returned towards their vessels, setting fire to almost every house on each side of the road, from the West to the East Ferry, and several houses and barns some distance on the North and South side of the road, driving out the women and children, swearing they should be burnt in the houses, if they did not instantly turn out. Captain Wallace commanded. Mr. John Martin, standing unarmed in his own door, was shot. Fifty cows and six oxen, a few sheep and hogs were taken. All were plundered of beds, wearing apparel and household furniture. They left Conanicut the same morning and got back to Newport at Noon."

Every house in the village was destroyed. They confined themselves to the village, however, so the farm houses at the north were saved. General Washington, in a letter written at Cambridge, speaks of "the barbarity of Capt. Wallace on Conanicut Island."

In the spring of 1776 Capt. Wallace and his fleet withdrew from the bay. But for only a short period was this territory to be unmolested. On December 7, 1776, Job Watson, from his watch tower on Tower Hill, saw a large squadron of war vessels coming toward the entrance of Narragansett Bay. They sailed up the west passage, around the north end of the island and anchored along the shores of the Island of Rhode Island, from Portsmouth to Newport Harbor. Eight to ten thousand British and Hessian troops landed and took possession of Newport, and, once again, this little colony on Jamestown was in a desperate

plight. Out of a population of over 600 in 1774, but a little over three hundred remained.

But now there was a demand for men for the army. On September 24, 1776, two men were sent from the island. On November 21, 1776, the General Assembly made a levy of 6 men out of every 100 male inhabitants. The following entry in the town records, December 3, 1776, gives a vivid picture of their condition:

“This Meeting being Conven’d in Obedience to an Act of the General Assembly held at East Greenwich 21 of Nov. 1776, for Raising Six men out of every Hundred of the Male Inhabitants as last Estimated in this town to be sent to the Island of Rhode Island in ten days after the Rising of s’d Assembly to assist in Defending the s’d Island against the Ministerial fleets and armies now at war against the free and Independent States of America. This town Meeting as freemen being Met & Considering their Depopulated Distressed and Defenceless condition toward the Raising Equiping and sending forward s’d men agreeable to said act do at this time Most sensibly regret and find that ’tis out of the power of the town to Raise the Men Required by s’d Act but at the same time are Willing & Desirous to be aiding & assisting in the Defence of Rhode Island, for that Purpose will endeavour to Inlist the six men Required of this town by s’d act equip & send then forward for the Common Defence Speedily as may be agreeable to said act. but if the town in their Now most Calamitous & Distressed Situation find it out of their power to raise s’d men they humbly hope the fine for not Raising Equiping & sending them forward agreeable to s’d act may not be Exacted on the Inhabitants of the town.”

As soon as the British started to plan their intrenchments in and around Newport, it was seen it would be necessary to occupy Conanicut so that adequate protection might be obtained on the west. The American forces could assemble in Narragansett on the main land and cross over to Conanicut unmolested. From there they would command the east as well as the west passage to Narragansett Bay and it would be but a short distance to Newport. To prevent this possibility the 54th British Regiment was detailed to occupy the redoubt on the west side of the island (Fox Hill) about two miles north of the light-house (Beaver Tail), which they noted upon entering the bay, had been abandoned by the Americans. War vessels were anchored along the west

coast of the island and also between Conanicut and Prudence Island.

As a further protection a redoubt was erected north east of the narrow beach between Mackerel Cove and Sheffield's Pond. At this redoubt barracks to accommodate 50 men and officers were built. Still another redoubt or fort was erected later at the Dumplings which commanded the east passage. These fortifications were fully equipped with cannon, and a detachment of troops, frequently Hessians, were stationed there. At one time two battalions were stationed on the south end of the island at Beaver Tail, but no evidence has been found that any fortifications were ever erected there.

On December 9, 1777, a detachment of 50 men was stationed on the island to cut wood for the troops in Newport. A transport was anchored near the ferry. Here the troops slept and when landing in the morning they were ordered to take their arms with them. This work continued until every tree available for fire wood had been cut down.

In July, 1778, word was received that the French fleet had set out for Newport to join the American forces in an attack on the British Army entrenched at Newport. All the fortifications on Conanicut were strengthened and more men stationed there. On July 29th, the French fleet appeared off the entrance to the bay. Had they immediately landed forces on Conanicut they could have captured the entire British force stationed there, but instead, they remained at anchor off Beaver Tail for several days. In the meantime the British withdrew their troops and the evacuation was so precipitate that they spiked the cannon at Fox Hill and those at the Dumplings, two 24 pounders, were thrown down the rocks into the sea.

The delay of the French was fatal. While they were still anchored off shore word was received that a British fleet had sailed from New York. They soon appeared and the French fleet immediately set all sail after them. Both fleets quickly passed out of sight beyond the horizon. A severe storm arose and the vessels became separated, all

being badly damaged by the wind and waves. No decisive encounter occurred, and after several days a badly crippled French fleet appeared in the harbor, but they soon set sail for Boston to repair the damage done by the storm. In the meantime the attack on Newport from the north by the Americans failed and the British again were in unchallenged possession of the town. Troops were again stationed at the fortifications on Conanicut.

To give a comprehensive account of the part Jamestown took in this period it would be necessary to follow the movements of the American British and French forces. This space forbids, but the foregoing gives an idea of the strategic position of the island.

After having occupied the island for four years the British departed in 1779. The following winter was the most severe ever experienced. So impoverished were the inhabitants, they were compelled to call for outside assistance.

In July of the following year the French fleet, under Admiral de Ternay came to Newport. The poverty-stricken people did their best to make their stay pleasant, but even with them there was source of complaint, as is shown in the following entry in the town records for August 19, 1780:

"It is Voted that Messrs. Benjamin Underwood, John Gardner, John Weeden, Benjamin Remington, George Tew, & John Howland be a committee and Prepare an Address to their Excellencies the Count de Rochambeau and the Chavilier de Terney commander of his most Christian majesties fleet in the harbour of Newport. Praying that the people under his command might not be Permitted to come on shore without some Good and Known officer over them in order to Restrain them from Committing Damage or offering any injury or insult to the Good and Peaceable People of this town."

And on June 29, 1781, it was necessary to make another complaint as follows:

Jamestown at a town Meeting called and held in the said town.

June 29, A. D. 1781

"Whereas it is represented to this meeting that the Sailors belonging to his most Christian Majesties fleet in the harbor of Newport, and those in

the hospitals in this town, frequently pass through the Meadows and fields of Grain in the daytime, & in the Night Season are Patrolling the town throwing their fences & Walls down by which some of the Inhabitants has received Greate Damage & more is likely to insue if not speedily prevented.

It is Therefore Voted that Benjamin Underwood & John Weeden be appointed to prepare a Remonstrance petition or address to the Admiral & General of the french Troop in the Land and Sea Service in behalf of the town Praying that their Troops may be Restrained and Prevented from passing through the lands and fields of Grain, throwing their Walls and fences down or Doing Damage to the Good and Wholesome People of the town: and that Aaron Sheffield be desired to Present the address to the Admiral and General of the French Army and Navy."

After seven years of conflict the war was drawing to a close. The French forces were to leave Newport and co-operate with Lafayette in the south. General Washington desired to confer with the French Admiral and also to witness the departure. He left his camp near New York City, came up the old Indian trail through Connecticut to South Ferry where he took the old sailboat ferry to Jamestown, landing on the west shore of the island at about the same place as the ferry now lands, in the early afternoon of March sixth. Crossing the island he was met by the French officers at the East Ferry, where the admiral's barge was awaiting to convey him to the French war vessel "Duc de Bourgoyne," where he was received by Count Rochambeau.

In commemoration of this visit of our greatest citizen, the local chapter of the D. A. R., during the Washington Celebration last summer, placed a marker on the road, which will be a reminder to all those now driving from ferry to ferry that they are traveling the same road that General Washington took when he crossed the island.

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and the war was over. During these years of conflict there was a common purpose which bound the people together, and there were few indeed who, either directly or indirectly, had not taken a part in this struggle. But now each person, each family, each community began to think of their own condition. The spirit of nationalism disap-

peared with the British armies. The immediate struggle for a livelihood was the great concern of all. There were the few years of prosperous activity which always follow a great war, but these were followed by a great financial panic. Taxes were exorbitant and general conditions so bad that thousands of farmers deserted their farms to start over again in a new locality. The great movement to "go west" had started.

But no matter what the conditions were throughout the country, Jamestown could have been no worse off than it was, for Jamestown was not only ruined, it was practically depopulated. Those who remained were farmers and their only hope for a living was to get it out of the ground. This they resolutely set out to do. Sheep provided meat and wool, spinning wheels were always humming making yarn, the hand looms wove blankets and the cloth which was cut up and made into clothes. They also grew flax and wove their own linens. Pigs provided hams, which were smoked with corn-cobs and cured by hand, sausage, lard and mince pies; apples were cut up and dried and also made into cider; geese provided meat and feathers for feather beds. The milk house of an average farm in early winter would reveal a side or two of beef and mutton, many bags of sausage, tubs of butter and lard, bags of dried apples and a hundred or more mince pies which, with the potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages and the barrel of cider in the cellar, had to carry them through the winter. All the cooking was done in an open fireplace or the brick oven, and sweeping was done with turkey wings. The men spent their days cultivating the fields, raising and harvesting the crops, tending the cattle and chopping wood. The women prepared the meals, tended the house, wove cloth, knitted stockings, made clothes and found time to make samplers and do embroidery. The evenings were illuminated by candles dipped or moulded of mutton fat.

The farm seemed to provide everything except boots and shoes. The itinerant shoe maker made his yearly visits and

stayed at the house while making the shoes. The following bill covering one such visit is worthy of preservation:

To making your boots	\$2.00
To soling Mary	.34
To making your youngest	.29
To mending black girl	.16
To mending your son	.21
To mending your wife	.06

Such was the life on the average Jamestown farm for four generations after the Revolutionary War. The only market for farm produce was Newport, so as Newport prospered, Jamestown had a little more real money with which to buy things.

The next activity came with the Civil War. At this time the 3rd Rhode Island Cavalry was encamped on the island and barracks were built. After the war these were sold, and A. Crawford Greene, of Providence, purchased one which he used for a summer residence. In this humble way did Jamestown start as a summer resort. Gradually others came. Among the first from afar were several Quaker families from Philadelphia. Today, aside from a few farms at the north and south ends of the island, Jamestown is a summer resort. There are several hotels which provide for those who prefer hotel life; cottages, large or small, can be rented for the season; and there are many beautiful residences which have been built by those who are permanent summer residents.

In the main the history of Jamestown follows the history of New England, but it is the little things in life that make for individuality, and so we find the intimate history of Jamestown possessing an allurements all of its own.

(In printing this article, I wish to express my indebtedness to Miss Lena Clarke, of Jamestown, for her untiring efforts in searching and copying the original records.)



THE KING TOM HOUSE

Courtesy of Mr. J. H. Richardson

When the Society of the Colonial Dames published *Old Houses in the South County of Rhode Island*, no photograph of the King Tom house was located. Since then Mr. Richardson has kindly contributed the photograph which is printed above.

Genealogical Notes

By EDWARD H. WEST

(Continued from page 61)

WILLIAM POTTER

Since my discovery of Ann (Talman) Brayton's marriage to William Potter, I have been searching out facts about William Potter and find that the Durfee book and Austin are both wrong, as there was but one William Potter.

Austin gives two William Potters, one the husband of — Talman, the other the husband of Ann Durfee. He *presumes* that Ann Potter was the daughter of Thomas Durfee, as he left her a legacy.

In the will of Thomas Durfee, he calls his children either son or daughter, but does not call Ann Potter daughter. One must not forget that Thomas Durfee and Ann Talman, the mother of Ann Durfee, were at least very great friends, so he probably remembered Ann Potter as a favorite of his.

Austin also says that William and Ann (Durfee) Potter sold land in 1697 to William Burrington and in 1720 he deeded to William Potter, Jr., all his land in Portsmouth.

Let us see what the Land Evidence Book really says.

The first deed will not tell us anything as it was some land that was granted to William Potter in 1694. In March 1703-4 William and Ann Potter mortgaged to Isaac Lawton the land that had belonged to Stephen Brayton, dec., the first husband of Ann Talman. In 1713-4 William and Ann Potter quitclaimed to their son and son-in-law, Stephen Brayton, the above mentioned land.

In 1707, Preserved Brayton sold to William Potter the land that had been granted to Ann Potter, his mother, for him, then a minor, in 1694. This was the 12 acres that William Potter sold to William Potter, Jr., in 1720.

In 1721, William Potter, mariner, and wife, Prudence Potter, mortgaged this same 12 acres to the Colony. In 1727, William Potter, mariner, and wife, Prudence, sold this same land to William Earl.

In the original vital records, not the printed ones, is written: "Nathaniel Potter (the son of William Potter and Ann his wife) was married to Ruth Manchester (the daughter of Stephen Manchester and Elizabeth his wife) by William Coggeshall Ass't. 1712."

"The births of the children of the above said Nathaniel Potter and Ruth his wife:—Elizabeth Potter born 2 May 1713; Ruth Potter born 14 October 1715."

"William Potter (son of the above said William Potter and Ann his wife) was born 11 March 1696."

The Durfee Book mentions the wills of John Fish and his wife Joanna, recorded in 1742 and 1744, in which mention is made of their daughter, Mary, the wife of William Potter. These wills are not recorded in Portsmouth.

The marriage of William Potter and Prudence — is not recorded either. As he was a mariner, he may have married her in some port at which he touched and brought her to Portsmouth.

Who the Prudence Potter was that married John Williams of Stonington, Conn., (Original Record) I have not yet been able to discover.

An Unrecorded Marriage.

"William Hall & Benjamin Hall of Portsmouth - - - - Testifyeth - - - - that at or about the 20th Day of August 1748, they - - - - were Present at the house of the sd William Hall at Portsmouth, when Benjamin Turner, then a Resident of Newport and a native of Great Britain, was married - - - - unto Rebecca Tallman of Tiverton by Benjamin Tucker Esq. then an Assistant - - - - .

The above Deposition was Sworn too before me this 5 Day of August 1783." John Thurston, J.P.

(Town Council Records, VII - 55.)

The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

Transcribed by THEODORE G. FOSTER

(Continued from page 36)

At a Meeting of the Committee and Proprietors at Warwick July 14th 1715 Whereas Thomas Field was admitted a Share in Westquanaug at a Proprietors Meeting at Kingston the 20th of February 1706/7 but he not then accepting the said Admittance and not paying his proportion of the Charge that hath accrued We declare the said Grant to be void . . . Notwithstanding for some particular Service he hath done the Proprietors We do now grant him half a Lot joining upon N^o 4 he paying his proportionable part of the Charge that hath accrued . . . It is agreed forthwith to draw Lots for the First Division from N^o 1. to 29 according to the Plat laid before us by Josiah Westcoat Surveyor and the Lot that any Person shall draw the Division on the Plat being of the same Number with his said Lot shall be his Right and Property to improve as his Real Estate to him and his Heirs forever —————

And it is further Ordered that Such Person as shall draw any of the Numbers 1 to 8 shall have their first choice of the next Division of Lands in Westquanaug the Lot N^o 12 to be included: Zachariah Rhodes Lot N^o 29 is allowed him as his Fathers share without drawing his Lot all the Rest of the Lands not now called for shall be further Divided among the Proprietors . . . ordered by their Trustees—————

At a Meeting of the Committee & Proprietors of Westquanaug at Warwick at the House of Mary Carder July the 14th 1715

Ordered that the Proprietors come to a New Choice of a Committee and Clerk and Treasurer who are Chosen as followeth

Viz/

COL SAMUEL CRANSTON	}	Committee
Major James Brown		
Capt Benjamin Ellery		
Job Greene		
Mayor Joseph Whipple		
Mr Richard Waterman		
Major Thomas Fenner		
Job Greene Clerk and engaged		
Major Thomas Fenner Treasurer		

Voted that the committee shall have full Power to make choice of a Surveyor to lay out the Remaining part of the Purchase of Westquanauge and to proceed in that Affair as soon as may be with convenience and to act and do any other Business that they shall think needful for the Proprietors Interest in the said Purchase

Voted That each whole Share Man shall pay unto Major Thomas Fenner Treasurer Twenty Shillings apiece forthwith towards paying the Charge of Surveying and other incident Charges that may arise about the Premises and each Man claiming a Smaller Share shall pay a proportionable Part accordingly

Whereas Thomas Weaver of Newport has sold half a Share of Westquanaug without acquainting the Proprietors or Trustees thereof and neglecting to pay his Proportion of the incidental Charges he is directed to pay his Proportion into the Hands of some one of the Trustees before the next Meeting and then make his Acknowledgment and show good Reason for his Breach of Covenant or else his Half Share so Sold is to be forfeited to the Proprietors.

Signed per order Job Greene Clerk⁽¹⁶⁾

At a Meeting of the committee of Westquanauge at the House of Mrs. Mary Carder in Warwick October 29th 1717—

Ordered That Mr Resolved Waterman is chosen a committee Man in the Room and Place of Mr Joseph

Whipple he having sold all his Interest in said Purchase and Waterman having bought a Share in said Purchase——

Providence May 28. 1718 Ordered that Capt Richard Waterman shall be Treasurer in the Room of Major Thomas Fenner Deceased and that he demand and receive the Treasurer Money into his Hand of the Executor for the Use of the Proprietors——

Ordered That Capt Thomas Harris shall be a committee Man in the Place and Room of Major Fenner Deceased he having purchased Land in said Purchase——

At a Meeting of the Committee of Westquanaug at Providence May the 28th 1718.

Having received a Return of the Running and Revising of the Lines between Between Providence and Westquanaug and the Colony Line and Warwick Line by the Persons appointed for that Purpose they having made many Remarks in said Lines [*illegible*] in order for a further Division whereupon it is jointly agreed on by the committee of the Main Land that there be a Second Division of one Hundred and Fifty Acres at the least to [*illegible*] whole share Man and Addition where the Land is mean to make them equal with the best Land——The Second Division to be laid out to the Eastward of the colony Line and it is ordered that Major Job Greene Capt Thomas Harris and Ensign Resolved Waterman shall be overseers to see the Work done and to agree with Josiah Westcoat Surveyor to be the principal Surveyor in the Work and to make a Map of it. Also the Trustees are to him sufficient Help to compleat the Work and the whole Charge to be paid by the Proprietors at the Drawing the Lots—And it is further ordered that the Trustees may lay out a Third Division to the Westward of the Colony Line if they see cause so to do adjoining to said Line

Job Greene	}	Committee
Thomas Harris		
Richard Waterman		
Resolved Waterman		

Joshua Winsor is chosen a committee Man in the Room and
Stead of Resolved Waterman Deceased

pr Job Greene Clerk^{16a}

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanaug at the
House of M^{rs} Mary Carder in Warwick November the
fourth 1718 . . .

There being a Map presented by the Committee of
said Westquanaug of a Second Division within the Colony
Lines and one Division to the Westward of said Colony
Line to each Proprietor:—Ordered to draw Lots of said
Second Division according to former Order and also Unan-
imously agreed on to draw Lot for to the westward of the
Colony Line also both said Divisions were drawn accord-
ingly But there arising some Dispute between Nicholas
Carr and the Rest of the Grand Children of Gov^r Caleb
Carr of Newport Deceased about Carr's Right said Grand
Children claiming equal Right with said Nicholas Carr:
The Proprietors taking the Matter into Consideration have
ordered that Carr's Alotments shall be placed to the
original Right of said Gov^r Carr deceased—

And it is also ordered that Fones's Lotments be placed
in the original Right of capt John Fones Deceased by the
free Consent of his Son John Fones—there having been
some dispute before the Proprietors about the same by
Fones's Son and Grand Children—^{16b}

Ordered Whereas there was a Mistake in Greene's
Right in the Second Division That Lotment having no
orderly Draft with the Rest notwithstanding N^o. 47 was
left undrawn for by Reason of the Said Mistake Therefore
It is Ordered that Major Job Green may take up the same
Number of Acres that is in N^o. 47 in any part of the undi-
vided Land by Consent of the Committee off the Main
Land for himself and Brothers and Richards Daughters if

he do not like Number 47 and Number 47 to be laid down to the Proprietors again

p Job Greene Clerk

Advertisement

These are to give Notice to all the Proprietors of the Land known by the Name of Westquanaug within the Jurisdiction of Scituate⁽¹⁷⁾ in the County of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island &c to meet together on the First Tuesday of July next which will be the second Day of said Month at the House of Mr^s Mary Carder in Warwick in said County in order to hear the Proceedings of the Committee in Laying out said Land and to receive from the Surveyor the PLAT of the Several Divisions of said Land and to pay the Several incidental Charges which have accrued from the Last Meeting of said Proprietors and to act and Do any other Business that the said Proprietors shall think needful about the Premises

Warwick June the 7th 1734 By order of the Committee
per Mr Job Greene Clerk of said Proprietors

¹⁶Joseph Fry of Newport sold to Stephen Easton of Newport the half part of a share or sixtieth part of the Westquanoag Purchase, May 31, 1716. (R. I. Land Ev. III, 243.)

^{16a}On June 9, 1718, John Rhodes of Warwick sold to John Turrer a half share of the "Westquodnaig" purchase which was half of a partnership "with my uncle Peleg Rhodes." (Prov. Deeds, IV, 72.)

^{16b}Capt. John Fones in his will Feb. 14, 1703, left one half of his Westconnaug purchase to his son John, and divided the other half between his son Samuel and his grandson Fones Greene. (N. Ki. Wills.)

¹⁷On Feb. 20, 1730-1 the Town of Scituate was incorporated. All of the Westconnaug Purchase that was within Rhode Island was included in Scituate.

Heraldic Notes

MALBONE

Antiques for February 1933, contains an illustration of a silver mug engraved with a coat-of-arms and the words *Godfrey Malbone, 1742*. This mug is now owned by the

Reverend Malbone H. Birckhead of Wynnewood, Penna. The arms are an impaled coat, *or two bendlets compony gules and ermine* for Malbone impaling *argent on a fess between three catherine wheels as many lambs passant*, for Scott. The color of the wheels and lambs is not discernible in the illustration.

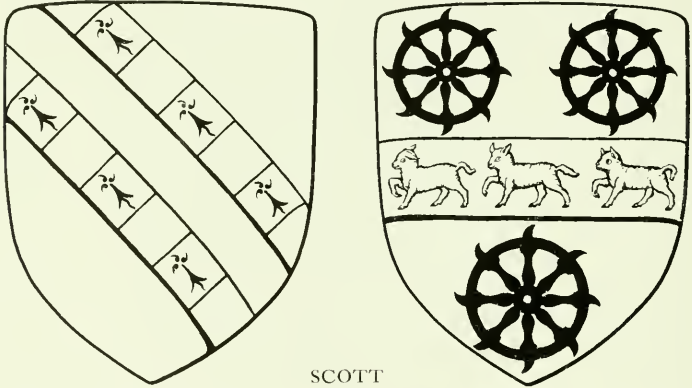


Silver mug which belonged to Godfrey Malbone of Newport.
It is owned by the Rev. Malbone H. Birckhead.

Courtesy of "Antiques"

E. Alfred Jones in *Antiques* describes the Malbone arms as *Or two bendlets gobony ermine and gules* and adds that "The arms of Malbone were granted in 1683 to George Malbon of Bradley in the county of Chester." Burke does not give this coat but gives *Or two bends gobonated argent and gules*. Ormerod in his *History of Chester*, III, 318, states that the ancient arms of the Malbons of Bradeley Hall, *Or two bendlets componé argent and gules* "were dis-

allowed by Dugdale in the visitation of 1663-4." The change from argent to ermine may have been for difference or more probably someone mistook diapering for ermine and so accidentally made a differenced coat. The impaled arms are those of Scott and as Godfrey Malbone married Catherine Scott in 1719, the arms clearly represent this marriage and are the arms of Malbone impaling Scott, which would of course be the arms of Godfrey Malbone, Senior.



SCOTT

The arms of Scott, as engraved on the silver mug, are the same as those of Thomas Scott of Great Barr, in Staffordshire, as illustrated on page 299 of the 1724 edition⁽¹⁾ of Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*. In the text these arms are given as *Argent on a fess gules, cottised azure, three lambs of the first, between as many Katherine-wheels sable*, but in the illustration the cottises are omitted. Dr. Bowditch suggests that the engraver may have merely turned to Guillim for a Scott coat, found that of Scott of Great Barr, Staffordshire, and then, overlooking the cottises in the description, copied Guillim's wood-cut. He may have shaded the fess for artistic effect.

The Catharine Scott who was married to Godfrey Malbone in 1719, was the daughter of John Scott and Elizabeth Wanton,⁽²⁾ and so granddaughter⁽³⁾ of John Scott and great-granddaughter of Richard Scott of Providence.

⁽¹⁾ Also in edition of 1679. ⁽²⁾ *R. I. Hist. Tracts* 3, pages 14 and 17.

⁽³⁾ *Austin Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, pages 215, 372 and 373.

FORM OF LEGACY

*“I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island
Historical Society the sum of . . .
dollars.”*

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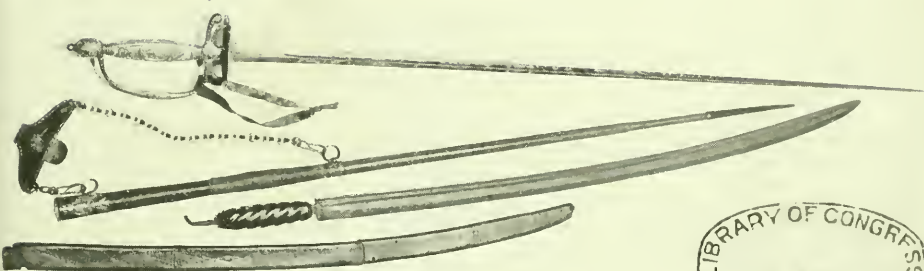
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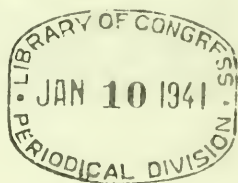
Vol. XXVI

OCTOBER, 1933

No. 4



COLONEL WILLIAM BARTON'S SWORDS



The upper one is the dress sword presented by Congress to Colonel Barton,
and the lower one is Colonel Barton's service sword.

*These swords were recently presented to the
Society by James A. Barton and George C. Barton,
great-great-grandsons of Colonel Barton.*

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI

OCTOBER, 1933

No. 4

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Roger Williams, Apostle of Complete
Religious Liberty

By MICHAEL FREUND

Translated by James Ernst

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In *Der Idee Der Toleranz Im England Der Grossen Revolution*, published in 1927, Michael Freund presents a painstaking study of the historical development of the idea of toleration in England, and especially its many-sided expressions during the Civil War from 1642 to 1648. The study was prepared under the direction of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich, after a year of research in the British Museum, London, and deserves, therefore, more than a passing notice from those interested

in Roger Williams and his ideas. Freund gives Williams a place of importance second to none of the twenty-four Englishmen, from Sir Thomas More to Sir Henry Vane, whose writings are analyzed and whose philosophy of toleration is critically examined. Only the poet John Milton is given a greater number of pages in a discussion of his ideas of toleration, than are given to Williams; while such famous political thinkers as John Goodwin, Dr. Owen, James Harrington and Sir Henry Vane are accorded fewer pages each than are devoted to him.

This original and highly provocative analysis of the ideas of Williams on toleration and religious liberty must, however, be read with caution, for Freund was misled when he trusted so implicitly the biographies of Williams then available. I shall suggest only a few of the corrections necessary. (1) Williams is wrongly grouped with the Anabaptist thinkers. His contemporaries in England and New England recognized him as an Independent, and Freund should have grouped Williams with Dr. Owen, John Goodwin and the poet Milton. (2) His religious views were not of "baptisticher natur" at any time. Williams had become a Seeker in August, 1635. It was customary in the 17th century to call all who dissented from the established religions, "Anabaptists", in the same way as today in America all social radicals and political dissenters are called "Reds" and "Communists." (3) He agreed that the "reason of the law" is more important than the "will of the law." (4) He rejected the contemporary view of toleration and demanded "absolute soul-liberty" in religious matters. (5) Within fixed constitutional limits, Williams held that the power of the state, as representative of the majority of the people, ought to be absolute in civil things. Legal and just punishment of offenders against the civil laws he designated as "prosecution" as distinct from "persecution." (6) He held the state ought to give permission and protection to the "bodies and goods" of the churches and church-members, whether true or false, in

6-1-19
 + Some more can be done
 1919

their civil relations, and that the churches ought to obey the civil laws and pray for the safety and welfare of the state, though pagan. (7) He was a Biblicist and not a Calvinist, after 1630. And although he took some of his ideas from John Calvin and Martin Luther, he never hesitated to disagree with each of them in certain matters. For example, he held to Luther's doctrines of Free-Grace and of conditional Election because he believed they were Pauline and Biblical. (8) Freund does not attempt to develop fully Williams' doctrines of government by the "free consent of the People" and the Rights of Man. These he discusses only as they relate to the idea of absolute toleration. (9) Nor does Freund bring out the close relation of Seekerism and the scientific movement of the 17th century with Williams' doctrine of religious liberty.

With these preliminary remarks as a guide, we are ready to begin the essay by Michael Freund: (*Der Idee Der Toleranz*. Halle, 1927. Pp. 241-268.)

TRANSLATION

The ripest fruit of the Baptist literature of Toleration is the work on Tolerance by Roger Williams. The toleration-idea of Williams found its most significant expression in his work entitled *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, but received, to be sure, further elucidation and exposition in his other writings. (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, (1664). Edited by R. A. Guild, N. C. P., Vol. II. *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, (1652). Edited by S. L. Caldwell, N. C. P., Vol. IV. A well-rounded portrait of his mind and character is given in the collected letters which J. R. Bartlett arranged and entitled *The Letters of Roger Williams*, N. C. P., Vol. VI.) Williams suffered persecution upon his own person. In 1631 he had come to New England, and soon thereafter was called to be the Teacher at Salem. His opinions brought him into sharp opposition to the church and state in New England, and

finally caused his banishment out of the colonies. (The exact causes of his banishment are in controversy: his opinions about tolerance — as the customary view maintains—indeed scarcely stand in the foreground. His doubt of the legality of the Patent of the colony, which according to his conception gave over illegally to foreign ownership the land of the Indian and his demand for a radical separation from the Anglican church stirred up a more vehement opposition than his conception of the relation of the state and church. The entire question is fully discussed by J. L. Diman in his introduction to *John Cotton's Answer to Roger Williams*, N. C. P., Vol. II. This discussion centers chiefly on the question of "rigid separation" and contributes also to clarify their controversy.) In the midst of a winter snowstorm—as he himself has often pathetically described—he was forced to seek for himself a new homestead. In 1636 he founded Providence, a new colony, upon his own land which he purchased from the Indian tribe. The members of the new colony promised to submit themselves to the majority in all matters: but only in civil things. Vane helped him to procure the charter for the colony. In 1643, because of disputes among the [New England] colonies, Williams went to London in order to obtain the authority for the settling of some of these disputes. The religious-political war then going on in England stimulated him into carrying forward a definitive discussion of his controversy with Cotton, his Puritan antagonist in New England. In this way originated, in 1644, *The Bloudy Tenent*, to which later on there was connected a lively controversy. The deliberations of the Westminster Assembly, (Translator's Note: The Westminster Assembly, composed of 120 Puritan and Scotch Presbyterian clergymen, was created in the summer of 1643 to assist Parliament in preparing a uniform system of church Order and polity. It was continuously in session without accomplishing any important matter until dismissed by Cromwell through Parliament in 1649) and in connection with it the joint publication of a pamphlet

by the Independent members, (Transl. Note: *Apologetical Narration*, (1644) by The Five Dissenting Brethren. British Museum) called forth his *Queries of Highest Consideration*. His religious views were of "baptistischer Natur", but he finally separated himself from every religious association and passed his last days as a solitary "Seeker". America honors in him one of her greatest minds.

As previously stated, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* is a discussion with Cotton, who defended a relative-toleration position and whose opinions were in need of a clearer representation, wherewith Williams sets forth the historical significance of the idea in its true light. (Of course, Williams presents to Cotton also his opinions concerning "The Model of Church and Civil Power" of the New England churches, of which Cotton later on denies his co-authorship.) Cotton, as we shall see, also divided the spheres of state and church rather strictly: both have their own End, their own duties, and their own functions. Over the church stands God as the only Law-giver. The members of the church, as such, have no right to challenge the state-authority by offering any resistance against it. Insofar as opposition to the civil power is permitted, it is exercised by the church-members as members of the state and not as members of the church. Man does not live in society and the state as a religious being. Although both authorities are clearly separated from one another, they are not independent of one another: they are inseparably intangled one with the other; they grow and blossom together, and perish together. The decline of the state, says Cotton, has always been a sequel to the decay of the church. (*Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, p. 191. Freund uses the edition of the Hanserd Knollys Society edited by Edward Bean Underhill. London, 1848.) The church educates the people to become good subjects and perfect members of society. State and church are mutually bound to govern and support each other. When the church disintegrates the state must re-

form it; and when the state strays from the path of justice, the church must lead it back onto the right course: therefore, one state, one church. Just as tolerant as the church ought to be to those within her own bosom, so little is an organized community able to tolerate different churches and sects side by side. "For our tolerating many religions in a state in several churches, besides the provoking of God, may in time not only corrupt, leaven, divide, and so destroy the peace of the churches, but also dissolve the continuity of the state, especially ours, whose walls are made of the stones of the churches, it being also contrary to the end of our planting in this part of the world, which was not only to enjoy the pure ordinances, but to enjoy them all in purity." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 240.) The church must, however, practice toleration in things not fundamental. Even in the sphere of the liturgy, she ought and must grant diversity and variety of forms. The principle must be one of unity and not uniformity. In things fundamental, however, which are so public and clear that only base desire opposes them, no tolerance dare be shown. After proper admonition, the church hands the heretic over to the state which may then deliver him to the executioner. Cotton also reiterates here in essentials the toleration-program of the sons of the Renaissance: that ideal of "Comprehension" which influenced Taylor (Transl. Note: Taylor, Jeremy, (1613-1667) *Liberty of Prophesying*, 1649) and Chillingworth (Transl. Note: Chillingworth, William, (1602-1644), *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*, 1638) to foster the idea of tolerance, also influenced Williams' *The Bloudy Tenent*.

Sovereignty—which brings the opinions of Cotton in repeated collision with the idea of toleration and especially with the theory of the Rights of Man—is placed by Cotton under absolutely fixed limits and rules. The state has no authority to consider private morals. It has, moreover, no authority to judge in disputes between children and parents, and servants and masters. Matters of private morals

come under the competence of the church which settles disputes between members of the family and between servants and masters: "Domestic evils are best healed in a domestic way." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 284.) Only upon a request from the church may the state interpose its authority in this sphere of social life. More serious, however, is the limitation on the principle of the state's authority. The power of the state originates through the transfer of the rights and power of individuals to the highest civil authority; the people are, moreover, on this earth only the stewards of God and may not transfer this right and authority as they please. "And because the Word is a perfect rule, as well of righteousness as of holiness, it will be therefore necessary that neither the people give consent, nor that the magistrate takes power to dispose of the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of the people, but according to the laws and rules of the Word of God." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 219.) The civil authority may impose nothing by virtue of its authority alone; it is obliged, "to show the reason, not only the will." (*Ibid.* p. 220.) Nor may the state control and regulate "indifferent" matters, unless it has cogent reasons to give for such action. Not the state but divine truth creates the social right. This divine truth is indeed a "perfect rule," compulsory and unequivocal, and can therefore dispense with the interpreting power. Cotton recognizes the viewpoint of Hobbes. (Transl. Note: Hobbes, Thomas, (1588-1679) see *Works*) as the hostile principle opposed to his world of ideas which he restates in similar words and vigorously attacks: "Auctoritas, non veritas facit legem." "He hath no power to make any such laws about indifferent things, wherein nothing good or evil is shown to the people, but only on principally the mere authority or will of the imposer for the observance of them." (*Ibid.* p. 220.) "The will of no man is regula recti, unless it be regula recta." (*Ibid.* p. 220) Not the will of the law-giver but the reason of the law must be the plumbline of the human conscience. Not

the authority of the supreme power, but the "Reason" of the law binds: "Ratio est rex legis et lex rex regis." (*Ibid.* p. 221.) . . .

Williams carries out the division between worldly and religious affairs much more sharply, consistently and radically than does Cotton. The separation is so thoroughly carried out that no bridges may lead across to reunite the two worlds. The two worlds, the spiritual and the civil, can no longer lay claims to each other. With this conception it is not possible to stretch a connecting-line across (from the spiritual world) to the Rights of Man . . . According to the conception of Williams, in contrast to that of Cotton, the two worlds are in themselves sovereign and do not mutually limit each other, since they exist on two such entirely different levels that they are completely separated.

For this reason Williams lays the stress upon it to indicate his intrinsic conclusion—the real self-sufficiency of the civil and social world. State and society are natural powers, forms and creations of nature. (Just for that reason, they are not comprehensible and conceivable through the doctrine of rights, because they in fact discard the spiritual "Existenz" to which rights alone are able to appeal.) In the blood relationship of families exists the prototype of states and, as people increase and propagate themselves independently and beyond religion of all kinds, so they in time also agree to form social combinations. "If none but true Christians, members of Christ Jesus, might be civil magistrates, and publicly entrusted with civil affairs, then none but members of churches, Christians, should be husbands of wives, fathers of children, masters of servants. But against this doctrine the whole creation, the whole world, may justly rise up in arms, as not only contrary to true piety, but common humanity itself." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 285.) "Magistracy is of God, but yet no otherwise than marriage is, being an estate merely civil and humane and lawful to all nations of the world." (*Bloody Tenent Yet*

More Bloody, p. 282.) Each state is legitimate just as life and nature are legitimate. Man is by nature a social creature, and enters social relationships long before he awakens to religion. "We shall find lawful civil states, both before and since Christ, in which we find not any tidings of the true God or Christ." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 247.) There is "a civil ministry, or office, merely human and civil, which men agree to constitute, called therefore a human creation, and is true and lawful in those nations, cities, kingdoms, etc., which never heard of the true God, nor his holy Son Jesus, as in any part of the world besides, where the name of Jesus is most taken up." (*Ibid.* p. 132.)

Society and state are integral wherever religious-liberty prevails in the entire state. The civil state is in itself entire and competent, "which compactness may be found in many towns and cities of the world where yet has not shined any spiritual or supernatural goodness." (*Ibid.* p. 211.) All over the world with its thousand-fold religious differences, the object, nature and origin of the civil authority is always the same. The origin is everywhere the choice and free consent of the people, and the object, the well being of the members or the safety of the people in property and life.

The state transcends religion. It receives from religion no enhancement of its authority, no more than is added to our animal life by our Christian confession. There is no longer any Christian state, but only purely a civil state. The state having developed into a pure "Existence form" and into a perfect abstraction has freed itself of all foreign accretions. "The civil nature of the magistrate we have proved to receive no addition of power from the magistrate being a Christian, no more than it receives diminution from his not being a Christian, even as the commonweal is a true commonweal, although it have not heard of Christianity." (*Ibid.* p. 304.)

If the Christian state had the right of persecution, then this right would not be merely peculiar to the Christian state but to the state in the abstract. When the Christian

state also imputes to itself the right of persecution, then it approves this right to all the states of the world. That would have a rather ominous effect upon the Christian religion; for of thirty parts of the world, twenty-five are non-Christian. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 161.) "And if so—that the magistrates receive their power of governing the church from the people—undeniably it follows, that a people, as a people, naturally considered of what nature or nation soever in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, have fundamentally and originally as men, a power to govern the church, to see her do her duty, to correct her, to redress, reform, establish, etc." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 215.)

Interestingly, the idea of the essential equality of all states and the identity of the efficacy of all states re-enforces the democratic woof in the thought of Williams. For Williams, the state is not an independent principle, but a function of society and an organ of the "Nation", insofar as Williams understands it. Before the states there were the "Nations"—"Nations" which as phenomena of the natural world are essentially alike. "If the magistrate has received any such charge or commission from God in spiritual things, doubtless, as before, the people have received it originally and fundamentally as they are a people. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 189.) There is no right and no essence in the state which does not rest in the people. No group of people have, however, more rights than any other, as Williams viewed the people in a nature-rightly, unhistorical being. "Primarily and fundamentally they are the civil magistrate." (*Ibid.* p. 210. The sovereignty of the "Nations" implies, however, the sovereignty of the world. In the state the many govern inseparably; only a few are, however, elected. The state which Williams alone recognizes, the democratic state, can neither be the sovereignty of the Saints nor supply the place of religious authority. The sovereignty of the state over religion must, moreover, always imply anti-religious sovereignty, at least

a-religious force over religious matters, always a foreign-authority over the church of God . . .)

The internal detachment of the state from religion signifies especially for Williams the self-sufficiency of the state, the organization of the phenomenon "state" in its "idealtypischen" purity. The mingling of state and church implies as well the negation of Christendom, as of the state: "It denies the principle of Christianity and civility." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 2.) The state burdened with religious duties and compassed with religious regulations is not a perfect state: (With this one may compare Karl Marx: "The so-called Christian state is an imperfect state and the Christian religion is permitted by the state as a complement and as a sanctification of its civil imperfection. The state is in this instance "Theologe ex professo", not yet state as a "state." *Zur Judenfrage*.) Persecution, therefore, is an inimical state principle: a "body-killing, soul-killing, state-killing doctrine." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 378.) It unites the legitimate civil relations which have at least according to Williams their origin in natural circumstances, on the condition of fixed religious qualifications, and denies them at the same time as their own rights. (Williams perceived in the principle of persecution not merely the negation of the state, but according to his state-theory a denial of the natural existence of mankind, of "nature," and the "world." Persecution demands of the "world" the religious proof of the "right to life," and denies thereby its right to existence in itself. For Williams, therefore, intolerance is the all-destroying power.) And so the taking-over of the function by the state is "a breach of civility." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 49.) It adds a foreign element to the state, turns it into a "six-fingered monster," (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 454) and cripples it thereby. Intolerance is therefore "opposite to the very essentials and fundamentals of the nature of a civil magistrate." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 35.) By means of it is "civil society plucked up by the roots." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*,

p. 207.) Persecution is "dangerously destructive to the very roots . . . of any civil being of the world itself." (*Ibid.* p. 238.)

Thus the state exists in itself and is set free in every way from all fixed duties concerning religious matters. It exists instead as a civil state, and only as a civil state. Upon it God's people have no claims. "It is plausible, but not reasonable, that God's people should, considering the drift of these positions, expect more liberty under a Christian than under a heathen magistrate." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 340.) The state may deliver none of its essence or its functions over to religion. "Peace" says to "Truth," this pamphlet is in the form of a dialogue between Peace and Truth: "I know you would not take from Caesar ought, although it were to give to God." (*Ibid.*, p. 294.) The state is entirely withdrawn from any religious authority. As a "Stück Natur," according to its inner essence, the state is incapable of responding in general to the claims of religion; for that purpose it is without an "organ." It is a dead thing, soulless, unspiritual: "Spiritual cannot reach to artificial or civil." (*Ibid.* p. 247.) Cotton had made it clear that the walls of the New England states were built out of the stones of the church, to which Williams replied: "The walls of earth or stone about a city, are the natural or artificial wall or defence of it." (*Ibid.* p. 246.) Only the "natural" can protect the "natural." Only the natural can operate upon the state which is without an "organ" for the commands and claims of religious matters. Christ has never made any promises to the state. "It pleased not the Lord Jesus to give by himself or his apostles to the civil magistrates, king or governor, any particular rules or directions concerning their behaviour or carriage in civil magistracy, as they have done expressly concerning the duty of fathers, mothers, children, masters, servants, yea, and of subjects toward magistrates." (*Ibid.* p. 85.) The words to Peter to put his sword into the sheath are directed to the church of Christ and not to the state which for that

reason retains the power over life and death. The sword is also not to be drawn in defence of religion, especially when it is endangered. (*Ibid.* p. 360.)

The need of releasing the states from religious rule is especially manifest in the impetuous slaughtering of the religious wars. Williams speaks sorrowfully "of the nations and peoples slaughtering each other for their several respective religions and consciences." (*Ibid.* p. 37.) The decline of the religious wars is largely owing to the more temperate adherents of the idea of toleration. The "Politisierung of Politik" had indeed already made such advances that it was possible even to subordinate foreign-politics to the End of religious propaganda. Especially is this true of Cromwell's very Protestant-tinged foreign politics which is, to be sure, always only a device to interfere for tolerance and the protection of the menaced Protestant interests, and only set up as his aim in the conquest of Ireland (according to his idealogy) an extension of the Protestant religion by force of arms. Milton had expressly restricted the hindrance of the Catholic faith, which he promoted, to national boundaries. The extension of Catholics, he held, must be obstructed: "I mean in our natives and not foreigners, privileged by the laws of nations." (*Of True Religion, Heresy, and Schism*, p. 142.) Cotton also refuses to permit his relative-tolerance to reach beyond the state: "It becomes not the spirit of the gospel to convert aliens to the faith . . . with fire and brimstone." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 106.)

Williams viewed the religious wars, however, as the inevitable consequence of the "bloodie tenent." Seldom does persecution halt at the national boundaries. And why should it? The duty to root out the heretic extends out beyond national borders. And whoever believes in this duty, "must needs force on and press after an universal conquest of all consciences, and under that (like those bloody Spaniards, Turkes and Popes) lay under their fair cloak, the rule and dominion over all the nations of the earth." (*Bloody*

Tenent Yet More Bloody, p. 337.) Characteristic of Williams is his repeated warning and fear of it that intolerance in this religious conquest may in turn consider itself as a sovereign power of a world kingdom. What slaughter must then follow after this principle of intolerance if all the millions of heretics should be put to death? (*Ibid.* pp. 288, 337. *Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 27.) Williams always kept the world situation of religion constantly in view. Intolerance must involve the Christian state in a mad war against the whole world, and by it constantly threaten mankind by plunging all the nations in a war among one another. Back of intolerance lurks continually a world conflagration. The intolerance of Queen Elizabeth had almost set the whole world in flames. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 350.)

From the basic concept of Williams, moreover, there follows not only peace for the "Christian" states with the heathen world around them, but also the inner justification of the heathen states as the proving ground and as the rulers of the Saints. All spiritual restraints are cleared away from economic and civil-social associations. The children of God may turn to the pagan states to obtain from them justice in social-civil matters. As members of society they may have traffic with pagans, Jews and Turks. Paul—Williams maintains—shows by his appeal to Caesar the legality of having civil intercourse with such persons (idolators), with whom it is not permitted to have any intercourse in spiritual matters: "secretly foretelling that magistrates and people, whole states and kingdoms, should be idolatrous and anti-Christian, yet with whom, notwithstanding, the Saints and churches of God might lawfully cohabit, and hold civil commerce and conversation." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 88.) "And, in that sense, who doubts but God's people may appeal to the Roman Caesar, an Egyptian Pharaoh, a Philistian Abimelech, an Assyrian Nebuchadnezzar, the great Mogul, Prester John, the great Turk, or an Indian Sachem?" (*Ibid.* p. 130.) The expan-

sion of the geographical horizon has perhaps influenced the conception of this idea; the public inclusion of non-Christian powers in the play of politics, and the requirement of a pacific English-colonial penetration made possible later on to draw from it its "Legitimierung." With it colonial politics could throw many an ideological ballast overboard.

As a natural structure, the state stands also beyond good and evil. It can do evil in order to prevent greater evils, "as for instance, in the civil state, usuary, for the preventing of a greater evil in the civil body, as stealing, robbing, murdering, perishing of the poor, and the hindrance, or stop, of commerce and dealings in the Commonwealth." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 139.)

The questions of conscience are generally separated from the social life in a moral sense. The people have indeed no longer any relation in and to the state as religious beings; their action in the civil state is also no longer a question of spiritual judgment of conscience. Therefore the social action may not be involved in the sphere of those actions which flow out of human conscience. As soon as the state appears in religious drapery, then either one must subscribe to the state unflinchingly, "or else there are no lawful kingdoms, cities, or towns in the world, in which a man may live, and unto whose civil government he may submit; and then, as I said before, there must be no world, nor is it lawful to live in it, because it hath not a true discerning spirit to judge them that fear or not fear God." (*Ibid.* p. 184.) From it results the penetrating power of the civil order, so that all scruples of conscience are taken over by it from the subjects of the state.

However, Williams also eliminates the question of conscience in another sense: in social life there dare be no possibility of appealing upon restraint of conscience as the basis for disobeying any civil laws; in the state those actions will be punished, which result from the impulse of conscience, if they affect the civil peace and order. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 88.) Williams could say with Selden,

(Transl. Note: Selden, John, (1584-1654) Puritan, member of Parliament, jurist and publicist) man may not be permitted "to pretend conscience against law." Because Society is changed by spiritual crises of liberated relationships an externally regulated "Komplex" — "Soulless," "Conscienceless" — for that reason the development of liberty of conscience into common Rights of Man has hitherto been frustrated. However, the theory of the Rights of Man proceeds on the basis of the acknowledgment of a "social conscience." Of it Williams like Selden feared that the revolt against all social order would borrow thereby a protecting-shield. In opposition to the conscience of the individual, he postulates a higher right, "The Conscience of the State": "The conscience of the magistrate must incite him to civil punishment, as a Lord Mayor of London once answered, that he was born to be a judge when a thief pleaded that he was born to be a thief." (*Ibid.* p. 143.)

The position of Williams on the question of the persecuting state seems at first glance a wavering one. On the one hand, there is held forth the idea of absolute subjection. The persecuting state exists as a civil state in its unshaken right whenever it deals with civil and social matters. Persecution is only to be kept off from interference with the soul (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 30+.) (Transl. Note: Williams made this distinction: to punish for religious opinions is *persecution*; but the civil state may punish for civil offences which he calls *prosecution*.) On the other hand, persecution appears as much the dissolving factor of social relations as the enemy of society, so that this right to take steps for its own preservation should not be granted to society. Thus Williams justifies the English Revolution as a rebellion against persecution. Indeed, at the very outset Williams takes up the right of the "civil magistrate" to execute vengeance on tyranny. (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 26.) The same "civil magistrate" who under circumstances is able to be the revolutionary "magistrate" of rank, has the right to draw the sword against the persecutor. (*The*

Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody, pp. 195, 204, 320.) "All persecutors of all sorts ought by the civil sword to be restrained and punished as the destroyers of mankind and all civil and peaceable beings in the world according to the light of their cruel and murderous oppressions." (*Ibid.* p. 481.) So in this also quietistic resignation is condemned.

Through the separation of the church from the civil state, Williams hopes to arrive at an emphasis of the proper civil functions, and, as it were, to direct for its social purpose the surplus power which becomes free for the state through the abandonment of its religious duties. Cotton had taken the matters of dispute between members of the family and masters and servants away from the judgment and sentence of the state: and the existing patriarchal order of society placed, in fact, even the workingman under the family-discipline and family-right. The withdrawing of authority to judge over disputes within the family had to receive a tremendously significant place in the regulation of the state in the social development. And Williams reproaches Cotton: "I observe, furthermore, how they (the doctrines of Cotton) take away from the magistrate that which is his proper cognizance, as the complaints of servants, children, wives, against their parents, masters, husbands, etc. Families as families, being as stones which make up the common building, and are properly the object of the magistrate's care in respect of civil government, civil order, and obedience." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 134.) "To whom should the servant or child or wife petition or complain against oppression unless to the public father, master and husband of the Commonweal." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 284.) In this the civil order of Williams is more nearly like a patriarchal civil-being, than the civil "laissez faire, laissez aller" of the Rights of Man. Cotton mentions in addition to the "Komprehension" within the church, also a word for the toleration of lesser evils within the state. Williams excludes toleration in the latter as well as in the former. (*Ibid.* pp. 108, 138.) His civil state

plunges—freed from impeding admixtures—with unceasing aggression into its duties and labors. Williams complains vigorously that the “Model of Church and Civil Power” which the New England churches worked out, even in the spirit of confining civil authority, prohibits the civil state from punishing expressed evils: “so they take away and disrobe him of that authority, which God has clothed him with.” (*Ibid.* p. 284. At the same time he refers to the indications of prosperity which the economic life of the nations experiences because of toleration. Williams repeatedly applies the example of Holland to this thesis: the weakening of the economic power of countries is emphasized by their persecutions.)

“Heathen” states are not only legitimate and lawful, but their civil efficacy, the success of their commonweales, suffers no diminution through the heathen nature. The Christian religion can not claim any right over the well-being of the commonweale: according to the nature of religion any influence upon the affairs of Nature is forbidden her. States with corrupt religions enjoy prosperity and well-being. Williams declares that he could not well believe it when Cotton says, “that outward civil peace cannot stand where religion is corrupt. When so many stately kingdoms and governments in the world have long and long enjoyed civil peace and quiet, notwithstanding that religion is so corrupt, as that there is not the very name of Jesus Christ among them.” (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 216.) It were an exceedingly dangerous opinion, namely, that the social and spiritual beings, the state and the church, “are like Hypocrates twins, they are born together, grow up together, laugh together, weep together, sicken and die together.” (*Ibid.* p. 286.)

The intrinsic justification which Williams in all these ways allows to be assigned to the civil and social life, he also extends to the “particularity” and “self-hood” of the civil world. He affirms the latter in the fulness of its forms and meanings, and fights angrily against Cotton who might

thereby squeeze all civil matters into one scheme since he (Cotton) declares the essences of the Mosaic order of society as eternal and unchangeable. Williams acknowledges instead of a free historical movement, the historical evolution of the civil world. The order of nature is unchangeable throughout all time: "Civil alters according to the constitutions of peoples and nations." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 80.) Indeed, certain moral principles in the laws of Moses are eternal; but only in the substance, not in the material circumstances. Whatever remains in them that is timeless must also work itself out "according to the nature and constitutions of the several nations and peoples of the world." (*Ibid.* p. 485.) Williams fights through with Cotton particularly this question about the problem of the punishment for adultery which Cotton wishes to adapt to Mosaic law: for it Christ has established no fixed punishment, but "leaves the several nations of the world to their own several laws and agreements, . . . according to their several natures, dispositions, and their common peace and welfare." (*Ibid.* p. 487.) Thus Christ approved "the several human ordinances or creations." (*Ibid.* p. 488.) Cotton's intolerance must deny the legality of the several and heterogeneous governments and forms of government, and force them all "to one common law." (*Ibid.* p. 488.) One dare not, however, overrate the inner affirmation of the different nature of the world in space and time. Plainly it is the historical change which Williams calls forth to draw on the eternal and timeless lawful religion from its influence over the changeable state. He emphasizes the historical change so much in order to be able to defend the religious matter before them, and affirms it in favor of the civil-social sphere, because he has withdrawn religion out of this sphere. Like many other theorists of tolerance, he enters into the revolutionary change of religious opinions of the English nation, how they changed with their sovereigns from Roman Catholic to Anglican, from Anglican to Protestant, and so forth, "as the longest

sword and strongest arm of flesh carries it." (*Letters*, p. 219. "Letter to Endicott.") "The fathers have made their sons heretics, and the sons their fathers." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 20.) The historical change is to Williams, indeed, very frequently an indication of the transitoriness of the creature: "Vain uncertain and changeable mutations of the present evil world." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 20.) "Certain uncertainties of friends, treasures, revenues, armies, forts, magazines, castles, ships, and navies, crowns and lives." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 16.) This charge plainly makes the civil world of inferior merit and dignity. With this corresponds also Williams' view of history: prevailing, undeceived princes (Karl V; Philip II) and the deception of the English nation by the usurper Warbeck: transitoriness and deception of earthly beings.

The affirmation of the individual rights of states is so frequently united by Williams to the discussion of the right of resistance against heretical princes. Intolerance seems to him to embrace in itself the doctrine of the dethronement of heretical princes. He who objects to the social right of existence of the subjects because of a religious disqualification, will also not permit the heretical princes to have authority in his civil life. He who believes in his duty to have to eradicate the heretic from the face of the earth, will also not make a stop before heretical princes: "such kings and magistrates ought as well as thousands of his subjects in like case to be put to death." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 420. Likewise, *Ibid.* pp. 86, 205.) "All persecutors hold the Pope's traiterous doctrine of deposing heretical princes." (*Ibid.* p. 302.) Persecution is synonymous with the "Popish bloody doctrine of deposing heretical kings." (*Ibid.* p. 281.) It is the "Theory of the Powder Plot." (*Ibid.* p. 497.)

Under such presentations, Williams therefore has certain difficulties about the toleration of the Catholics, whose Popes explicitly defended and practised this right. (Against

it, the toleration of the Jews is urged with unreserved energy.) The Catholic religion seemed, nevertheless, so loaded with doctrines hostile to civility that in Williams' time very few had ventured to speak of tolerating Catholics. In favor of it, Williams goes about to explain that doctrine about the deposing of heretical princes as alien to the true basic dogma of the Catholics. The Catholics had given proof of their loyalty in many Protestant countries; many in England had taken the Oath of allegiance. One entire Catholic kingdom (France) had spoken out in 1610 against the disloyal book of the Jesuit Mariana and thereby shown how even the Catholic religion can be reconciled with civil matters, and how unjust Cotton is "to chain up all Papists in an impossibility of yielding civil obedience." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 311.) Williams however held the toleration of Catholics to fixed stipulations: the state may require them to take the Oath of civil engagement and to yield up their arms, and the state may also mark them "as the Jews are in some parts by some distinction of or on their garments." (*Ibid.* p. 314.)

That it was possible for Williams, from his broadly laid-out rejection of the deposing of heretical princes to infer a reciprocal duty of the princes and to guard the civil-social rights of his heretical subjects, is due to the peculiar social-civil conception of Williams. This conception rests in the identity of the civil and social rights and relations. The state leads no independent life without society and, that which makes it lawful, makes legitimate also the whole body of social relationships, and to dispute its self-designed immanent legitimacy signifies an abolition and a negation of all social relations. One may compare, for example, the following utterance of Williams: "And hence it is true, that a Christian captain, Christian merchant, physician, lawyer, pilot, father, master, and so consequently magistrate, etc., is no more a captain, merchant, physician, lawyer, pilot, father, master, magistrate, etc., than a captain, merchant, etc., of any other conscience or

religion." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 341.) The state appears here as the product of the social division of labor: the essence of the state resting entirely on the existence of a portion of the governing classes. This portion has an occupation among other occupations, as a special social group among other groups. The civil being is also dissolved into the social being. One can also say Williams robs, as it were, the state of its public nature, in that, he identifies it with the remaining social relations and constituents. The legitimacy of the state becomes the legitimacy of a social vocational-group; its immanent "legitimacy" differs not at all in principle from the "authorization" of the business of a merchant and the legality of a mercantile business. (Transl. Note: See Ernst: *Roger Williams*, Part III, Chapt. 12. The state is a public service corporation. See also, *The Political Thought of Roger Williams*.) A "Christian" state would in the conception of Williams presuppose a "Christian" banking business, a "Christian" fishery, a "Christian" medical science, and so forth. Thus Williams is able to defend the biblical phrase to give Caesar what is Caesar's into making legitimate the "Totalität" of social relationships and to place the affirmation of the state beyond all religious presumptions on a parity with the claims of all citizens, like that religious qualification, on all social right to property and life. "Although that a man is not godly, a Christian, sincere, a church member, yet to deprive him of any civil right or privilege due to him as a Man, a Subject, a Citizen, is to take from Caesar that which is Caesar's, which God endures not though it be given to himself." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 414.) Thus whilst Williams deprives religion of any connection with the state, he also disestablishes the state.

As Williams has justified the non-religious state as a civil state in the fulness of its essence and being, he in addition proceeds to defend on the basis of this legitimacy the full-rights of non-religious citizens as unassailable. Just as each state is "complete" as a state beyond its religious

creeds, so is also each citizen as a citizen. The social functions of the subject are not able, because of his religious creed, to possess the least enhancement, improvement, influence, not even a coloring or a toning down. "And I ask whether or not such as hold forth other worships or religions Jews, Turks, or anti-Christians, may not be peaceable and quiet subjects, loving and helpful neighbors, fair and just dealers, true and loyal to the civil government." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 112.) The society moves by its own impulsive power. Social and religious morals are two different forces. The social moral is something natural, and grows inevitably out of the social, immanent and natural necessities. There is a social moral which needs no religious impulse: "There is a moral virtue, a moral fidelity and honesty, which other men besides churchmembers are by good nature and education, by good laws and good examples nourished and trained up in." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 365.) There is a "civil faithfulness, obedience, honesty, chastity." (*Ibid.* p. 207.) These differentiate themselves naturally from religious obedience, religious faithfulness and religious virtue. It is dangerous "to confound the nature of civil and moral goodness with religious." (*Ibid.* p. 406.) On that account it is an error to assume that "religious" sins are able to menace the civil state. Individual sins indeed may affect and trouble the social life. "But blindness of the soul, hardening of the heart, the inclination to choose this or that God, this or that Christ besides the true one, these injure not even remotely the commonwealth, since they do not affect it, but only the spiritual kingdom." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 328.) Even persons without any religion can be put into possession of that social morality, which makes them suitable members of society.

Thus the social being experiences no suggestion or pressure because of religious powers. Neither the society as a whole nor the individual social trade groups suffer a declension through the religious changes. "Yea, though

the whole worship of the city of Ephesus should be altered, yet if men be true and honestly ingenuous the city covenants, combinations and principles, all this might be without the least impeachment or infringement of the peace of the city of Ephesus." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 47.) The change in religion becomes the more significant, if within the society there is established a religious congregation which represents itself as a process of continual organizing and dissolving of the religious union in which persons assemble spontaneously to disunite and again break up when its purpose is accomplished. Such a voluntary union is the religious congregation, in fact one of the "companies and societies voluntarily entering into combinations which are distinct from the city." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 69.) No political and social theorist, not even Locke, (Locke, John, (1632-1704) *Toleration*, (1685), and *Two Treatises of Government*. (1690) has so ruggedly worked out the idea that the church is an "association," a corporation with private rights: "The church, or company of worshippers, whether true or false, is like unto a body or college of physicians in a city—like unto a corporation, society, or company of East India or Turkey merchants, or any other society or company of London; which companies may hold their courts, keep their records, hold disputations, and in matters concerning their society may dissent, divide, break into schisms and factions, sue and implead each other at the law, yea, wholly break up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the peace of the city not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the essence of the city, and so the well-being and peace thereof, is essentially distinct from those particular societies; the city courts, city laws, city punishments distinct from them. The city was before them, and stands absolute and entire when such a corporation or society is taken down." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 46.)

Christianity and religion have lost entirely their social effectiveness. Religion has nowhere become flesh, and has

nowhere assumed a characteristic form. Christianity is without any formative power for the things of this earth. There are no "Christian states"; there is no "Christian world." Christianity, as Williams conceives it, loses its outward form and its visibility. It would be deprived of its original essence, if it entered into a combination with the things of this world. It is not able to impress its stamp on the earthly things, and there are in this world no longer any sacred things. The idea which we have so frequently come upon, that Christ removed the distinction between holy and unholy, pure and impure, Williams modifies in many different ways. Upon this earth no longer lies the shadow of Holiness; the holy nowhere any longer becomes characteristic form. Williams falls upon this idea in order particularly to destroy essentially the superiority of the Christian world over the non-Christian. The nations are all alike pure and impure. None can thereby exalt itself above the others, in that it boasts of its religious perfection, and because it claims for itself a peculiar Holiness. All nations stand equal before God. Since the New Testament times there is no longer any "holy nation": the Israel of the Old Testament was a prototype of the holy nation of Christ, which is chosen out of the few Elect whom Christ has called out of the nations of the earth. No nation is called unanimously. Even the "Christian" nations are equal to the others before God. Williams offers vehement objections against "this sanctifying of a new land of Canaan." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 19.) "Are not all the nations of the earth alike clean unto God? Or rather, alike unclean until it pleaseth the Father of mercies to call some out to the knowledge and grace of his Son, making them to wash in the blood of the Lamb of God?" (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 281.) "But now the partition-wall is broken down, and in respect of the Lord's special propriety to one country more than another, what difference between Asia and Africa, between Europe and America, between England and Turkey, London and Con-

stantinople?" (*Ibid.* p. 275.) For Williams also made war on the colonial policy of annexation by force which makes an appeal to the inner spiritual "religious" pre-eminence of Christian nations. Out of this sanctification and religious glorification of Christian nations follows "the sin of the patents, wherein Christian kings, so-called-(!) are invested with the right by virtue of their Christianity to take away and give away the lands and countries of other men," who are not Christian. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 461.) In a more interesting way this interpretation provides Williams also with a means to rebuke the overbearing manner of the colonies towards Mother England. In Cotton's mind there had arisen on American soil a land of God and a kingdom of Christ, which was exalted spiritually far above religious-corrupt England. Against this notion, Williams says: "I for myself acknowledge the land of England not to be inferior to any under heaven." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 407.) Through this denial of the spiritual superiority of New England, he hopes also to be able to break the persecution of New England, "stopping New England's persecutions by the mercy of Old England, the mother of dissenting consciences." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 463.)

Christianity, as Williams understands it, ceases therefore to compromise with the Forms of this earth, because it itself remains with fixed Form as a permanent Pattern. Every established pattern in religious things signifies for our logician, — to neglect religion and the godly matters with a "Kreatural Bildhaftigkeit," to run counter to the command of God not to make an image of Him. This begins even with the earliest religious experience of the individual. Even here Williams struggles against a fixed, bound and rigid pattern. The religious belief ought to be a constant spiritual struggle, a continual flowing, becoming and bubbling of the spirit. (Naturally it ought not be denied that, with the belief in predestination, in Williams who accepted the belief of individual "Election," that is,

security and irrevocability, there are also other heterogeneous motives operative.) Perseverance in the once attained Truth, lethargy in religious truth, is sinful confidence in natural insight. The belief in the insecurity of human knowledge could become a natural motive in favor of tolerance. In fact, Williams constructs in part his ideas of tolerance upon the insecurity of human knowledge; (Transl. Note: Williams was closely associated with the scientific movement of the seventeenth century, and so emphasized experience, experiment and inquiry in life and thought.) No one can know whether he follow in a heresy and not the Lord: "It is a dangerous thing to put this to the may-be, to the venture or hazard, to the possibility." (*Letters*, "To Endicott," August 1651, p. 225.) "May not the most High be pleased to hide from his (the persecutor's) as well as from the eyes of his fellow servants, fellow mankind, fellow English? And if God hide from his, from any, who can discover?" (*Ibid.* p. 216.) It was a "holy purpose" of God to permit all the duplicity of religious knowledge in which the individual, thrown about erring and reeling, is placed, "as it displays Himself only perfect and excellent and all the rest of men in all ages but farthing candles, yea, smoking firebrands." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 39.) Thus are the people: "poor dust and ashes, like stones once rolling down the Alps, like Indian canoes or English boats loose and adrift, where stop we until infinite mercy stop us, especially, when a false fire of zeal and confidence drives us." (*Letters*, "To Endicott," p. 226.)

Neither does Williams hold to the belief in a true church now existing in the world. Nor does religious essence here take on form; nor ought it here become an earthly image. The children of God are obscured, and divided in opinions. They are not able to be reconciled since they live entirely ignorant of themselves and the world. "The rich mines of golden truth lie hid under barren hills, and in obscure holes and corners." (*Bloody*

Tenent, p. 150.) Thousand of God's Elect live in the national, diocesan and parish churches and go about among the mass of "Idolaters." "God's people in their persons are His, most dear and precious, yet in respect of the Christian worship, they are mingled amongst the Babylonians." (*Ibid.* p. 40.) They are nearest to God, "that separate both from one and the other, yet are divided also among themselves into several professions." (*Ibid.* p. 302.) "But as the lily is among the thorns, so is Christ's love among the daughters; and as the apple-tree among the trees of the forest, so is her beloved among the sons." (*Ibid.* p. 65.) "What are two or three or more of regenerate or godly persons in such communions, but as two or three roses or lilies in a wilderness? A few grains of good corn in a heap of chaff? A few sheep among herds of wolves or swine, or (if more civil) flocks of goats? A little good dough swallowed up with a whole bushel of leaven? Or a little precious gold confounded and mingled with a whole heap of dross?" (*Ibid.* p. 421.)

The religious opinion of Williams is therefore represented variously as a religion of escape—as an escape from the business and evil ways of the world. The flower of religion blossoms in hidden places, and the church—Williams returns frequently to this comparison — is like an enclosed and hedged in garden into which penetrates no "breath from the agitated world." Separation from the world, isolation, is the mark of the religious adjustment of Williams. "A false religion out of the church will not hurt the church, no more than weeds in a wilderness hurt the enclosed garden or poison hurts the body when it is not touched or taken, yea, and antidotes are received against it." (*Ibid.* p. 167.) "If the weeds be kept out of the garden of the church, the roses and lilies therein will flourish, notwithstanding, that weeds abound in the field of the civil state." (*Ibid.* p. 156.) He charges the adherents of the state-church, that they wish to make the garden and the wilder-

ness a unity. (*Ibid.* p. 170.) Cotton wishes to make the dung-heaps of the world the blossoming gardens of Christ.

In all this sticks at bottom a goodly piece of hardheaded religious egoism. Without the weeds may flourish, if only in my garden the roses blossom; and without the storm may howl and the ships be shattered to pieces, if only my ships lie safely at anchor. Williams is filled with the fear that the purity of his soul and his religion might suffer alarm and dangers of the world; but the world may be destroyed if only my soul suffers no harm! He speaks of "the lamentable ship-wreck of mankind" (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 3) from which it is worthwhile to save oneself. He longs to be of the true church: "also separated from the rubbish of anti-Christian confessions and desolations." (*Ibid.* p. 41.) "Having bought truth dear, we must not sell it cheap, not the least grain of it, for the whole world; no, not for the saving of souls." (*Ibid.* p. 9.) He reminds Parliament:

Therein is contained also the analysis of the tolerance-scheme of Cotton. Here contend not merely tolerance and intolerance, but also one idea of tolerance with another. Within the church (Cotton admits certain toleration even without the church — even if hemmed in by reservations and disqualifications.) Cotton desires to tolerate everything which is at one with things fundamental. Williams throws out headlong the idea of toleration within the church. Cotton wishes to transplant the stinking weeds into the garden of God. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 142.) "Komprehension" Williams holds is a disgrace to the church of God. Everything, even the smallest tares must be weeded out of the garden of Christ. Williams conceives the notion of heretics more strictly than does Cotton: the opposition to God even in the smallest matters makes one an heretic. (*Ibid.* p. 99.) The question which has been presented to all plans of Comprehension: Where is the borderline? What belongs to fundamental truths? is also raised by Williams, (*Ibid.* p. 117.) In addition Williams is radically opposed to every presentation of a Christian unified-front which at best brings such plans to naught; his more sublime religious standpoint removes all current Christianity at so great a distance that the removal of it from non-Christian religion diminishes to a vanishing point. The "Christiani omnes sumus" has in him an embittered opponent. His tolerance is a tolerance of ultimate intolerance; a tolerance of spiritual abandonment and of spiritual resignation of "the world").

“Be not so busy about the earthly state, no nor the heavenly estate of others, as to forget to make sure you own vocation and election.” (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 15.) We dare not expose ourselves to the dangers of the world, not even to save a soul. Each for himself, and God for all of us. “Christ commands his disciples to let the blind man go until he falls into the grave.” (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 19.)

One pulse of the heart is indistinguishable from the others. Williams is a strict adherent of Calvinistic predestination, (Transl. Note: Freund fails to distinguish between “unconditional” and “conditional” election. Williams held the Lutheran position of “conditional election.” Or in other words Williams took the idea of “predestination” more nearly in the sense in which Paul presents the idea in the New Testament. See Ernst: *Roger Williams*, Part IV, Chapter 2, “The Seeker Religion”), and constructs in part his idea of tolerance upon it. About condemnation and sanctification God alone has the determination and him whom he has chosen for eternal peace, no errors can trouble. (Transl. Note: Freund is in error here, for Williams admits that even the elect are uncertain of their election. See Ernst: *Roger Williams*, “The Seeker Religion.”) The Elect need no protection: God’s sheep are safe in his eternal hand. “Dead men cannot be infected. The civil state, the world, being in a natural state, dead in sin, whatever be the state-religion unto which persons are forced, it is impossible it should be infected. Indeed, the living, the believing, the church and spiritual state, that and that only is capable of infection; for whose help we shall presently see what preservatives and remedies the Lord Jesus hath appointed. Moreover, as we see in a common plague or infection, the names are taken, how many are to die, and not one more shall be struck than the destroying angel hath names of: so here whatever be the soul-infection breathed out from the lying lips of a plague-stricken Pharisee, yet the names are taken, not one elect

or chosen of God shall perish. God's sheep are safe in his eternal hand and counsel, and he knows his material, knows also his mystical stars, their numbers, and calls them every one by name. None fall into the ditch on the blind Pharisee's back, but such as were ordained to that condemnation, both guide and followers. The vessels of wrath shall break and split, and only they, to the praise of God's eternal justice. (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 97.) "Who can pluck these sheep, the elect, out of his hand." (*Ibid.* p. 115.) Intolerance builds upon the Popish doctrine of free will, as if "it lay in their own power and ability to believe upon the magistrate's command." (*Ibid.* p. 222.)

A religious positiveness flows through the entire thinking of Williams. He does not let the seducer of men in religious matters get away without combat, and of a spiritual toleration of these whom he wrests away from the gallows of the state there is no word: in the state the law demands—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life; and in the kingdom of the church the law—a soul for a soul. (*Ibid.* p. 96.)

At the bottom of every religious theory of Williams, reposes the refusal of any spiritual conquest of the world. This has been denied because it would presuppose secular "sovereignty." To Williams, moreover, each "domination" represents a menace to true religiousness. The divine illumination is vouchsafed only to the lower classes of people, for the most part in their wholeness of religious sensibility. A profound spiritual aversion of the demon of power and authority overcomes our thinker, and a vehement mistrust of the upper classes of society. In the dedication (to the Parliament) of the *Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* and in a "Letter to Endicott" (Letters, p. 214) he speaks of a particular seduction for which the rulers are censured. Their spiritual welfare is more powerfully exposed to danger than that of all the others; therefore, true Christianity shines very seldom upon the leaders of social and civil life. To let the rulers decide upon the

religion of the state signifies from thence always the sovereignty of the unreligious persons over the church. God is "Maximus in minimis." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 4.) Even culture and knowledge through which the great world shines, does not guarantee the religious truth which is the grace and gift of God. "God delights to befool the wise and high." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 209.) "The Most High and glorious God hath chosen the poor of the world and the witnesses of truth are clothed in sackcloth, not in silk and satin." (*Bloody Tenent*, p. 151.) This so-called poverty is however not the poverty of the proletarian suffering, but the "plainness" of the middle class. The kings of the earth seldom enter into heavenly glory: Williams trembles approvingly as he tells how Buchanan on his deathbed directed these words to King James — "Remember my humble service to his majesty, and tell him Buchanan is going to a place where few kings come." (*Ibid.* p. 151.) "Not many wise and good are called but the poor receive the Gospel, as God hath chosen the poor of the world to be rich in faith." (*Ibid.* p. 355.) Thus Williams can express the conviction that persecution oppresses predominately those saints of God who indeed never share in that civil power which does the persecuting. It is only a "seeming impartiality," if among the heaps of slaughtered an anti-Christian is found here and there. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 34.)

From hence it is not much further to a spiritual depreciation of the order of tolerance which makes light the cross for the Saints of Christ. Williams has at the bottom of his soul very little faith in the universal realization of toleration. Oppression will forever be the distinctive mark of the people of God, and will remain so. The Saints have flourished the most in grace and piety under persecution. Constantine was more fatal to the church of God than Nero. (*Ibid.* p. 334.) Thus the idea of toleration will not be in the form of a universal world order, but merely a criterion of the Saints and a means of spiritual justification.

The papists ought to be tolerated, so that this forbearance may witness against them and their persecution, and crush them under their disgrace. (*Ibid.* p. 27.) The idea of toleration is, as a whole, not to be considered favorable to the liberation of mankind in general from guilt and evil, but a part of that scheme of salvation of the privileged of God out of the universal "lamentable ship-wreck of mankind."

Queen's Fort

Mr. Norman M. Isham calls attention to the mention of "The Queen's Fort, so called" as early as December 1724 in the *R. I. Colonial Records* IV, p. 349. This establishes the fact that the Queen's Fort was called by that name within the lifetime of persons who had lived through King Philip's War. For an account of Queen's Fort see *R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections* for October, 1931.

Notes

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

Rev. Paul C. Burhoe

Mrs. John R. Freeman

Mrs. C. H. Horton

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

A History and Church Directory of Holy Trinity Parish, Tiverton, R. I., 1933, by Rev. Herbert B. Gwyn, is a pamphlet of 24 pages.

The John's Island Stud, presented to the Society by the author, Fairfax Harrison, Esq., contains an important eight-page account of early Narragansett pacers.

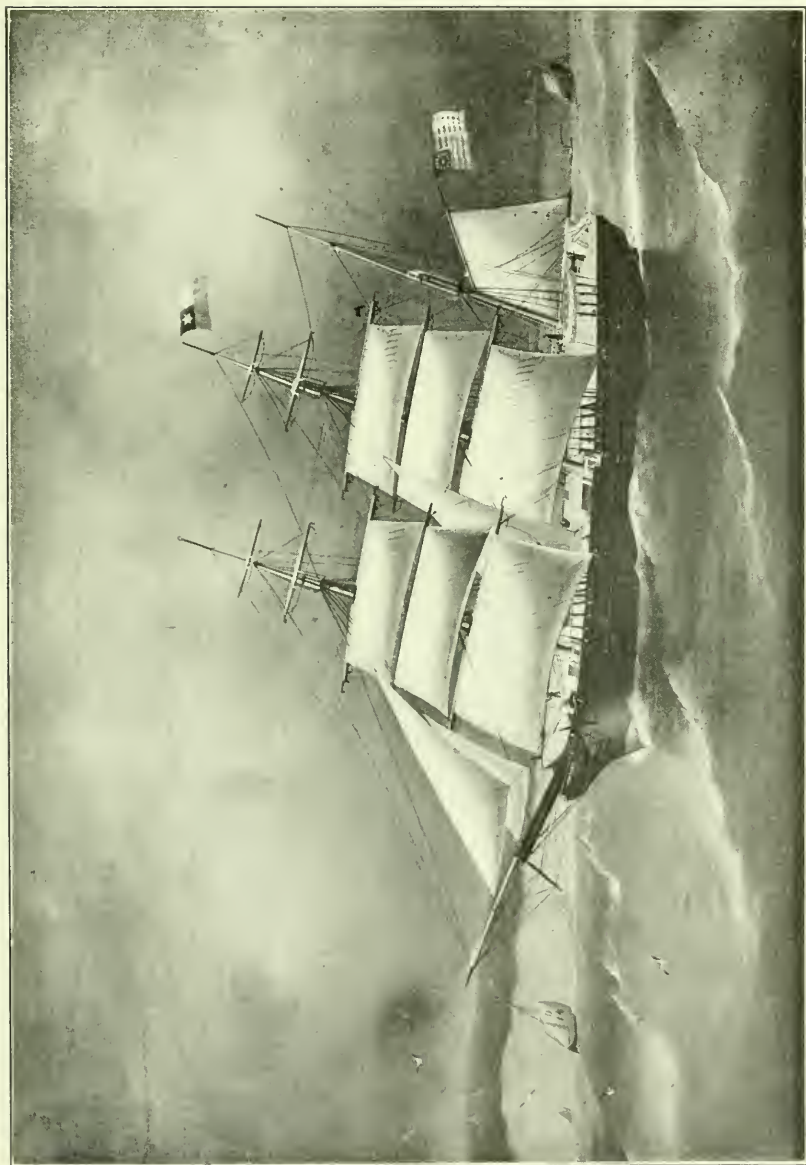
An historical *Map of South Kingstown* by Carder H. Whaley and Alfred T. Taylor, 1933, shows the original layouts of the land of the early settlers.

Antiques for July 1933 contains several items of Rhode Island interest: an illustrated editorial on Goddard's clock cases and a Goddard table; an illustrated account of Ethan Stillman, gunsmith, and his work, by Charles D. Cook; and a critical study of a Pawtucket eagle tavern sign by Homer Eaton Keyes.

Some Unpublished Berkeley Letters with some new Berkeleiana by A. A. Luce, is a reprint of 20 pages from the April 1933 *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.

The July issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains an article on the early generations of the Knight family of Rhode Island by G. Andrews Moriarty, A.M., F.S.A.

The Mount Hope Bridge Corporation has issued an interesting map of Newport and southeastern Rhode Island.



BARK NEWPORT

*From a painting owned by the
Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company.*

Fort Flags

(Continued from vol. XXV, p. 120)

XIV

Colony of Rhode Island to Job Bennet, Dr.
1775

Feb. 10 to 90 y ^{ds} Bunting @ 1/6	£ 6-15
to Fickling Burgh thread & a line	} 4-9
for ye flagg	
To makeing a Union Flagg for	} 15
Fort George	

The following items in the Rhode Island State Archives refer to the post-revolutionary flags flown at the fort at Newport.

XV

Newport Oct. 14, 1785

Mr. George Gibbs

B^{ot} of Handy & Russell

2 y ^d width red Bunting @ 22/ the yd	£ 2- 4-0
1 y ^d do blue do	1- 2-0
2 y ^d do white do 19/	1-18.0
	5 - 4 - -
Add @ 60 p cent	3 . 2 . 4 ³ / ₄
	8 - 6 . 4 ³ / ₄
additional ad @ 5 pct	8 . 4
	8.14. 8 ³ / ₄ "

XVI

“Mr. George Gibbs to Mary Channing Dr.

To Making Flag & Pendant	} 3-12
for Fort on Goat Island	
Newport Octob 25, 1785”	

These items show that a pennant as well as the British Union flag was flown at the fort during the colonial period and that the pennant carried a union. After the revolution a pennant, as well as the United States flag, was flown.

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